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PAUSANIAS

I

PAUSANIAS
DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN SIX VOLUMES

I

BOOKS I AND II

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PREFACE

THE present work was originally intended to be a plain translation of the text of Spiro. After a time I was requested by the Editors of the Loeb series to add a few notes, dates, maps, etc., so that the *Tour* might be more intelligible to English readers. Fully aware of the difficulties and dangers of the plan, I have nevertheless tried my best to choose from a vast quantity of material just those scraps of information which an English reader would need most. A few of the notes are printed at the side and foot of the page; most of them, together with the maps and plans, are reserved for the Index, which it is hoped to make a "companion" to Pausanias.

The transliteration of Greek names has been a matter of difficulty. The only way to avoid inconsistencies is to transliterate letter for letter without attempting either to Latinize or to Anglicize. To follow the rules adopted in the Loeb series without occasional inconsistencies is impossible, especially as the number of names given by Pausanias is so vast;

here again I can only say that I have tried my best.

The text of Spiro has rarely been altered. A few of the most plausible conjectures, generally though not always adopted by Spiro, have been assigned to their authors in footnotes.

In my translation I have not distinguished between "Medes" and "Persians," or "Ilium" and "Troy." It is rather deceptive to an English reader to do so, and the Greek scholar can easily tell from the original which word in each case was used by Pausanias.

I have to acknowledge much kind help. Especially am I indebted to my friend Mr. A. W. Spratt, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, for his careful reading of the proofs. Professor Ridgeway and my colleague, Mr. R. B Appleton, have given invaluable criticism and advice.

W. H. S. J.

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INTRODUCTION

Life of Pausanias

About Pausanias we know nothing except what we can gather from a few scattered hints in his own *Tour of Greece*. In book v. xiii. § 7 he mentions "the dwelling among us of Pelops and Tantalus," and "the throne of Pelops on Mount Sipylus." It is a fair inference that Pausanias was a native of Lydia. His date we can fix with tolerable certainty. In v. i. § 2 he says that two hundred and seventeen years had passed since Corinth was repeopled. Now Corinth was restored in 44 B.C., so that Pausanias was writing his fifth book in 174 A.D. Again, in VII. xx. § 6, he tells us that in his account of Attica he did not mention the Odeum of Herodes because it was not yet built at the time of writing; but we happen to know that it was built during the time of the Antonines. These emperors Pausanias knows as "the first Antonine" and "the second Antonine," and he mentions a war of the latter against the Germans and Sauromatae. This war began in 166 A.D., and the emperor triumphed in 176 A.D.

He does not mention the death of "the second Antonine," which took place in 180 A.D.

Of the character of Pausanias we know very little. His work is that of a commonplace mind, which accepts the conditions of the period in which it finds itself as the best possible outcome of an unhappy past. Without being a scientific critic, Pausanias can reject the improbable or relate it with a *caveat lector*. He is transparently honest, with no axe to grind and no object to be gained by intentional inaccuracy. His book exhibits no enthusiasms, either of love or of hate, but throughout it there is manifest a quiet admiration for the beauties and glories of Greece.

The Style of Pausanias

The style of Pausanias is simple and unpretentious. The matter of the work does not lend itself to literary embellishment, and, with two exceptions, the narrative unfolds itself plain and unadorned. The first exception is that Pausanias, like other Hellenistic writers, often indulges in curiously verbose and tortuous expressions to represent very simple ideas; the second is his fondness for transpositions of words, which are sometimes so violent as to throw doubt upon the sense.

The translator is sometimes troubled by what appears to be carelessness in the use of prepositions.

It is impossible, for example, to decide positively in many cases whether ὑπέρ means "above" or "beyond." Another source of ambiguity is the use of ἐπί with the dative case, of which Pausanias is very fond. But ἐπί with the dative may have, among others, the following meanings:—

(1) In addition to;
(2) Next to, close to, at, near;
(3) On the top of;
(4) In the case of.

Now in topographical descriptions the use of prepositions with local meanings should be very strict and precise, and it is rather unfortunate that Pausanias employs this construction of ἐπί so frequently, as the translator is often uncertain which meaning to choose, and an error may make a serious change in the sense of a passage.

Another ambiguity, occurring several times in Pausanias, is of less account, as it does not seriously affect the sense, but it may be of some interest to grammarians. Pausanias is fond of using a past tense when in many cases the natural tense in English is the present. The reason is sometimes because the writer is thinking of the time when he visited a locality, or investigated a problem, sometimes because he places himself in the position of his readers. Occasionally the past tense appears to be of the "momentary" type. In each case the

translator has to decide which course is the best—to use a past tense in English,[1] to use the present, or to paraphrase.

The Tour

The work of Pausanias is far from being a complete description of ancient Greece. Many points which a modern reader would be interested in are either passed over altogether or else dismissed in the fewest possible words. Geological features, scenery, the general appearance of cities and villages, the state of agriculture and of trade, the power and efficiency of the country—all these things, which nowadays are objects of concern to an author, occupy a very small part of the narrative of Pausanias. To some extent these omissions are due to the differences between ancient taste and modern taste. The Greeks, for example, and indeed ancient peoples generally, appreciated scenery less than we do. But the chief reason for the peculiar character of the *Tour* is that Pausanias wrote for a limited public, which took little interest in such matters as industrial and economic questions. The reader he

[1] I have retained the past tense in I. vi. § 1, I. xii. § 2, I. xxix. § 10 (ἐπῆλθεν), and in I. xxxiii. § 3 (εἶχον, ἀπεδεχόμην), as referring to the time when Pausanias was making his inquiries, but it would perhaps be more natural to use the English present in all cases. The tense of ἐπῆλθεν reminds one of the colloquial English, "I am sending the photograph, because I *thought* you would like to see it."

has in mind is the tourist, who visited Greece for pleasure. It is interesting to observe that even in the second century A.D. there were not a few who travelled for the sake of sight-seeing. We have as evidence not only the work of Pausanias, but also the many references in it (some nineteen[1] in all) to the *ciceroni* (ἐξηγηταί) who conducted visitors over the various districts and showed them the sights, adding a running commentary of legend and gossip. Pausanias himself was one of these tourists, and he appears to have explored the country with some thoroughness.

A modern reader of Pausanias is disappointed because the information given is often so scanty, and of such a nature, that he cannot successfully visualize the place or object that is being described. This dryness of the narrative, this enumeration of sights without adequate description, indicates that Pausanias meant his work to be a guide-book to accompany the tourist on his travels and to show him what to look for; he had no intention of giving information which could be obtained by a glance on the spot.

I have spoken of the omissions of Pausanias; what kind of information is he careful to include? Towns, villages, roads, rivers, mountains and bays are given with some completeness. Fountains, and water

[1] See I. xiii. § 8, xxxiv. § 4, xxxv. § 8, xli. § 2, xlii. § 4; II. ix. § 7, xxiii. § 6, xxxi. § 4; IV. xxxiii. § 6; V. vi. § 6, x. § 7, xv. § 10, xviii. § 6, xx. § 4, xxi. §§ 8 and 9, xxiii. § 6; VII. vi. § 5; IX. iii. § 3.

supply[1] generally, theatres and race-courses are often mentioned. But his main interest lies in sanctuaries, statues, tombs, and the legends connected therewith. We notice moreover that, like the tourist of modern days, he devotes his attention to superficial details rather than to truly artistic qualities. When describing a statue Pausanias will tell us that it is "worth seeing" for its size or grace, but he rarely gives a critical appreciation of it. Interspersed among the descriptions of places and buildings are myths and legends, scraps of folklore and history, oracles and prophecies - in fact, odds and ends of all sorts. Sometimes, particularly when Pausanias turns aside to history, these digressions are of great length,[2] and seriously interrupt the main thread of the narrative. Peculiarities of ritual are regularly given when they might strike the visitor as odd. Pausanias has a voracious appetite for names. It may safely be said that he never omits to mention one if he can give it. Artists, builders, those who have dedicated votive offerings, figures in history and legend, catalogues and genealogies, appear in great

[1] It was natural for a Greek writer to lay stress upon water, that precious necessity in southern lands. But other creature comforts for the traveller Pausanias ignores; he does not even inform his readers where a night's lodging could be obtained.

[2] In a modern work they would either not appear at all, the reader being referred to other books, or they would be inserted as notes or appendices. The form of an ancient book and the difficulties of reference in ancient times account for many artistic defects in the old writers.

profusion. To us these names are dull enough, but to Greek ears they came fraught with pleasing and romantic associations derived from the stories of childhood, from the national poetry and sagas, and from the hymns sung at religious festivals.

Pausanias appears to have gathered most of his topographical knowledge from his own travels, but he doubtless used in places the works of his predecessors, while his historical information is fairly reliable, being generally derived from good sources.

Summary of Books I and II

The regions described in the first two books of Pausanias are, roughly, Attica, Megaris, Corinth and Argolis. The chief places to which the reader is conducted are Sunium, Laurium, the Peiraeus, Athens and its neighbourhood, Marathon, Oropus, the islands Patroclus, Helena and Salamis, Eleusis, Megara, Nisaea and Megaris, Corinth, the Isthmus, Lechaeum, Cenchreae, Acrocorinthus, Sicyon, Titane, Phlius, Cleonae, Argos, Mycenae, Orneae, Tiryns, Epidaurus, Aegina, Troezen, Hermione and its neighbourhood. The way in which Pausanias describes a place can be seen from an analysis of the first five chapters of the second book. The origin of the name Corinth; the Isthmus and what is on it; the harbours of Corinth; the tombs on the way to Corinth from Cenchreae; the sights in Corinth itself—the

sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia and the images of Dionysus, the temple of Fortune, the sanctuary of all the gods, the fountain and the statues by it, the market-place with its bronze Athena and the temple of Octavia above it—the road from the market-place to Lechaeum and the sights on it, the chariots of Phaëthon and the Sun, the bronze Heracles, Peirene, the enclosure of Apollo, the statues of Hermes, Poseidon, Leucothea and Palaemon; the baths and wells of Corinth; the road from Corinth to Sicyon with the temple of Apollo, the well of Glauce, the Odeum, and the tomb of Medea's children; the legend of Medea; the temple of Athena the Bridler and the legend of Bellerophontes; the other early kings of Corinth; the theatre and the Heracles of Daedalus; the sanctuary of Zeus Capitolinus; the old gymnasium and the temples of Zeus and of Asclepius; the Acrocorinthus, with enclosures of Isis and Serapis, altars to the Sun, Necessity and Force, temples of the Mother of the gods, the Fates, Demeter, Hera Bunaea and Aphrodite, the spring behind the last and the legend about it; the Teneatic gate and the sanctuary of Eileithyia; the burnt temple on the way to Sicyon. Pausanias then passes on to the Sicyonians and their city.

The general method of description seems to be to describe the road to some central spot, such as the market-place, and to make this a starting point. Pausanias first gives the chief objects of interest at his centre, and then, taking in turn the chief roads

leading from it, describes the sights to be seen along each, returning after a while to the starting point to begin again with a fresh road.

He does not profess to give an exhaustive account. "From the beginning my narrative has picked out of much material the things that deserve to be recorded."[1] Such is the rule governing his work; he commends himself for adopting it, and promises never to break it.[2]

Greek Religion

It will be seen that most of the sights noted by Pausanias had religious associations. Indeed, in the eyes of a Greek, everything that he could not explain, everything that puzzled or awed him, was of divine origin, and in those early and pre-scientific days the realm of the unexplained was a large one. A Greek instinctively personified the forces, powers and processes of nature, both of the animate and of the inanimate world, and this personification nearly always resulted in assigning to these aspects of nature human forms endowed with divine and miraculous characteristics, that is, in the creation of anthropomorphic gods and goddesses.

Greek religion is of disputed origin, or origins, but it is certainly a complex. It consists of several different kinds of belief, with some of which the

[1] I. xxxix. § 3. [2] III. xi. § 1.

reader of Pausanias ought to be familiar. Three of them, at least, must be briefly noticed.

First there is ancestor worship, the payment of divine honours to "heroes." These divinities were on a lower level than the "gods,"[1] and some modern scholars plausibly conjecture that the worship of them was the native religion[2] of the primitive inhabitants of the country, who were conquered just before the dawn of Greek history by a race from the North, who introduced the "gods." Be this as it may, the hero depended on his descendants for sustenance to enable him to enjoy such existence as fell to his lot, and it was therefore their bounden duty to pay him the traditional honours if they wished to keep his friendship. The ritual of this service is expressed in Greek by a special verb, *ἐναγίζειν*.[3] The offerings to a hero were not burnt; the sweet savour ascending to heaven was for the "upper gods." The dead hero in the ground was nourished by drink and food, especially by the blood

[1] Sometimes a "hero" became a "god" in course of time. Instances of such a change are (probably) Asclepius and Heracles. See, *e.g.* Pausanias II. x.

[2] One of the strongest pieces of evidence in support of this theory is derived from the methods of disposing of the dead. Archaeology tells us that the primitive inhabitants buried their dead, and were therefore likely to conceive of them as living a ghostly existence underground near their family; the Achaeans of Homer, supposed to be the later conquerors, burned their dead, and therefore were likely to believe that the spirits of the departed left the scene of their earthly activities to take up their abode in a distant Hades.

[3] To sacrifice to a "god" was *θύειν*.

of victims, sent down to him through his grave. Usually the sacrifice was not shared in by the worshippers, but was all sacred to the hero. The shrine of the hero was called an ἡρῷον.

Early in Greek history, probably during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., there spread through Greece a religious movement to which the name Orphism, a name derived from the Orpheus of legend, has been given. Orphism taught that man was a creature of sin and defilement, that the body was the prison of the soul, and that by ceremonial purification the soul could win a more blessed existence in the world to come. This movement found concrete expression in the "mysteries," initiation in which was sought by those who were depressed by a consciousness of sin or by the awful facts of life and death. Mysteries were associated with the worship of the dead and with various deities,[1] but especially with Demeter and her worship at Eleusis. The ritual, if we may judge from the little we know about it,[2] was trivial and absurd, but there can be no doubt that it did much to satisfy the emotional side of the religious instincts of the Greeks. Its modern analogue is perhaps the Salvation Army.[3]

[1] Pausanias mentions, *e.g.*, mysteries of Demeter, of the Great Gods, and of a hero Dryops.

[2] The Greeks were careful not to divulge the holy secrets. We know however that they were acts, ritual and perhaps pantomime, rather than a liturgy of words.

[3] Any parallel is bound to be unfair and misleading, as the evangelicalism of religious bodies like the Salvation Army is

Thirdly, we have as a component of Greek religion nature-worship, the deification of physical forces and physical impulses. The instinct which created the fairies, brownies, elves and mermaids of our own legends gave to the Greeks that wonderful hierarchy,[1] with the nymphs and muses at one end and Zeus, the king of the gods, at the other. Round their names there gradually grew a matchless mythology, which was at once the inspiration and the theme of the best Greek art. Maintained by the state, although often helped by private gifts and benefactions, the more honourable of these cults, in spite of their obvious drawbacks, not only afforded an outlet for religious devotion, but also presented to the Greek mind idealised conceptions of man's activities and aspirations. Anthropomorphism, with all its defects,[2] provides the worshipper with a deity that he can understand, to whom he

pure and spiritual, and, unlike any form of Greek religion, is closely connected with a strict moral code. But there are certain close resemblances, only to be explained by the fact that religious emotion does not differ much from age to age and seeks to express itself by the same or similar channels.

[1] It is not implied that all θεοί originated in nature-worship, but only that such worship is an important factor in this part of Greek religion. Although Greek religion has many aspects, it must not be thought that these are altogether separate and unconnected. The exact relations, however, that they bear to one another are largely a matter of conjecture.

[2] These defects are largely due to the conservatism of religious traditions, which preserve and pass on to the future the ideals of a less developed, less moral, past.

can attribute, sometimes indeed his vices, but more often his noblest virtues, raised to a height they never attain in the actual, workaday world. A conception like that of Athena, once thoroughly established, grew; poets and sculptors purified and enriched it, and the religious consciousness of the worshipper, deepening ever from age to age, gave to it a fuller and nobler significance. It was to art that religion owed most; indeed, art exerted that purifying influence which is exerted on modern religions by the development of the moral sense. The grandeur of the Parthenon and the majesty of the Athena of Pheidias could not fail to awake in Athenian hearts loftier notions both of divinity and of womanhood.

The ritual that formed part of the worship of a "god" differed from the ritual of "hero" worship. The offering, or rather a part[1] of it, was burnt, so as to send a sweet smell to the deity above; after the sacrifice, the rest of the victim formed part of a feast shared in by both worshippers and priest.

Even this brief summary of Greek religion must not entirely omit the ceremonies of riddance, ritual by which the Greeks tried to ward off evil influences which they did not attempt to personify. These rituals often had affinities to magic, and are perhaps the most primitive and degraded element in Greek

[1] The thigh-bones wrapped in fat.

belief. Probably the Thesmophoria and the Lithobolia (Stoning) were ceremonies of this type.

Finally, we have the cults that were imported late, those for example of Isis and Serapis, signs of the close connexion between Greece and Egypt, and also those of the Roman emperors, to whom every subject of the Roman empire was expected to pay his respects.

There were no sermons and few prayers in Greek worship. Its object was, not to edify the worshipper, but to persuade the god or goddess to grant a favour. The chief means employed of persuading the deity were burnt sacrifice, processions, dances and hymns.

It should be noticed that there was no priestly caste. Many of the priesthoods were held by girls or women, and, with very few exceptions, no ministers of the gods laid any claim to peculiar sanctity. There were indeed diviners, who were more skilled than ordinary men in interpreting omens or in discovering the intentions of heaven, but, on the whole, Greek religion was singularly free from priestcraft[1] of any kind.

Surnames of Gods

Any reader of Pausanias will be struck by the number of epithets or surnames attached to the names of certain gods. The following is a list of

[1] Possibly there was most priestcraft in the oracles, especially that at Delphi, and in the mysteries.

the chief divinities he mentions with the number of surnames given to each :—

Aphrodite . .	27	Fortune . .	3
Apollo . . .	58	Hera . . .	18
Ares	4	Heracles . .	11
Artemis. . .	64	Hermes . .	15
Asclepius . .	10	Muses . . .	2
Athena . . .	59	Nymphs . .	10
Core	6	Pan	4
Demeter . .	26	Poseidon . .	18
Dionysus . .	27	Sleep . . .	1
Dioscuri . .	2	Zeus . . .	67

Pausanias gives no surnames of Cronus, Hephaestus, Leto, Pluto, or of the Graces.

The mere number of epithets attached to a deity is a fair test of the power of his cult to appeal to the religious instinct. But a closer examination of them will enable a reader to appreciate passages in Pausanias which otherwise may be almost meaningless.

Many of the epithets merely refer to the city or place in which the cult was established. Thus Artemis was called Brauronian, Ephesian, Munychian and Tauric; Poseidon was Heliconian, Isthmian, Onchestian, Taenarian.

Other surnames are derived from the names of animals. In many cases, without a doubt, the deity was originally an animal, or at any rate manifested himself in the form of an animal; while in other

cases the epithet merely refers to some legend about the deity. Examples are :—

Apollo . . .	Wolf-god.
Apollo . . .	Locust-god.
Athena . . .	Horse-goddess.
Zeus	Cuckoo-god.
Artemis . . .	Goat-goddess.

Not a few surnames are taken from the names of plants sacred to the deity, for instance, Demeter Grass and Dionysus Ivy.

A great number of epithets refer to some mode in which the divine power manifests itself, or to an aspect or characteristic of the deity, either (*a*) general or (*b*) peculiar to a particular time or place. Thus Zeus was :—

Lord of Thunderbolts.
Lord of Dust.
Cleanser.
Gracious.
Saviour.

Apollo was :—

Lord of Embarking.
Lord of Streets.
Healer.

Again, the surname may mark the supplanting of one deity by another, as Artemis supplanted Dictynna, the Goddess of Nets, Apollo Carneüs, and Hermes (apparently) a hero Aepytus. In other

cases the epithet perpetuates some detail of a legend (Athena Trumpet), of a temple (Athena of the Bronze House), or even of a type of image (Athena Sharp-sighted). In a great number of cases the meaning can only be guessed at, or has been entirely lost.

A FEW SYNONYMS

There are a few synonyms, mostly with religious associations, a short discussion of which will not be out of place here.

(1) *ἡρῷον* : hero-shrine or "chapel," the temple of a hero or demi-god.

ἱερόν : sanctuary, the holy ground belonging to a god or (sometimes) a hero,[1] and generally containing a temple.

ναός : temple, the actual building. It is sometimes used of a hero-shrine.[2]

περίβολος, τέμενος : precinct, sacred enclosure. It is hard to distinguish between these two words. Perhaps the former looks more to the boundaries of the precinct, the latter to the space enclosed. Usually the words are used of *ἱερά* without a *ναός*.[3]

(2) *ξόανον* : wooden image of a god. Statues of wood are older than those of metal or stone.

ἄγαλμα : image, statue, generally of a god. It might be translated "idol" were it not for the superstitious associations of this word.

ἀνδριάς : statue of a man. This word has no religious associations, and in this way can be distinguished from *ἄγαλμα*.

εἰκών : portrait, likeness, often identical in meaning with *ἀνδριάς*.[4]

ἕδος : used only once in Pausanias, of a statue of Aphrodite.[5]

(3) *τάφος* : grave, burying-place.

μνῆμα : tomb, memorial, monument. The word therefore suggests more than *τάφος*, though the two are sometimes identical.[6]

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[1] III. xv. § 3. [2] III. xv. § 7.
[3] But sometimes a *τέμενος* has a *ναός*, II. xxiii. § 7.
[4] See, *e.g.*, III. xvii. § 7 and III. xviii. § 1.
[5] II. xx. § 8. [6] III. xv. §§ 2 and 3.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF PAUSANIAS

There are many MSS. of Pausanias, but all are late. They have been divided into three classes, of which the best representatives are :—

(1) P, a manuscript written in the year 1491 A.D. It is now in Paris, and is known as Parisinus 1410.

Pd, known as Parisinus 1411.

Fa, now at Florence, and known as Laurentianus 56. 10.

Fb, also at Florence, and known as Laurentianus 56. 11.

(2) L, now at Leyden, known as Lugdunensis 16. K.

(3) V, now at Vienna, known as Vindobonensis 23.

M, now at Moscow, known as Mosquensis 194.

Vn, now at Venice, known as Venetus 413.

Lb, now at Leyden, known as Lugdunensis 16. L.

The first two groups are closely connected, while the third has given us the "vulgate" or common text. It does not seem likely that a further study of the MSS. will, of itself, do much to clear away the blemishes that still disfigure the text of Pausanias. The chief blemishes are gaps in the text, where the manuscript tradition fails us entirely. Conjectures may sometimes fill these gaps plausibly, but obviously no great trust can be reposed in them.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The following are the chief editions of Pausanias :—

1516 (Venice), M. Musurus.

1550 (Basle), A. Loescher.

1613 (Hanover), G. Xylander.
This is one of the best early editions.

1794–6 (Leipzig), Jo. F. Facius.

1822–8 (Leipzig), C. G. Siebelis.

1826–7 (Berlin), I. Bekker.

1838 (Leipzig), J. H. C. Schubart et Chr. Walz.

1845 (Paris), L. Dindorf.

1853 (Leipzig), J. H. C. Schubart.

1896-1910 (Leipzig), H. Hitzig, H. Bluemner.

1903 (Leipzig), F. Spiro.

The English Translations are :—

1794 (London), T. Taylor.

1886 (London), A. R. Shilleto.

1898 (London), J. G. Frazer.

The last has a monumental commentary, and is the standard work of reference in English.

PAUSANIAS

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

BOOK I—ATTICA

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ

ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΕΩΣ

Α′

ΑΤΤΙΚΑ

Ι. Τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κατὰ νήσους τὰς Κυκλάδας καὶ πέλαγος τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἄκρα Σούνιον πρόκειται γῆς τῆς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ λιμήν τε παραπλεύσαντι τὴν ἄκραν ἐστὶ καὶ ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Σουνιάδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τῆς ἄκρας. πλέοντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω Λαύριόν τέ ἐστιν, ἔνθα ποτὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἦν ἀργύρου μέταλλα, καὶ νῆσος ἔρημος οὐ μεγάλη Πατρόκλου καλουμένη· τεῖχος γὰρ ᾠκοδομήσατο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ χάρακα ἐβάλετο Πάτροκλος, ὃς τριήρεσιν ὑπέπλει ναύαρχος Αἰγυπτίαις, ἃς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τιμωρεῖν ἔστειλεν Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτε σφίσιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου στρατιᾷ τε αὐτὸς ἐσβεβληκὼς ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐκ θαλάσσης κατεῖργεν.

2 Ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξεν ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν· Φαληρὸν δέ—ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως ἡ θάλασσα—,

PAUSANIAS

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

BOOK I

ATTICA

I. On the Greek mainland facing the Cyclades Islands and the Aegean Sea the Sunium promontory stands out from the Attic land. When you have rounded the promontory you see a harbour and a temple to Athena of Sunium on the peak of the promontory. Farther on is Laurium, where once the Athenians had silver mines, and a small uninhabited island called the Island of Patroclus. For a fortification was built on it and a palisade constructed by Patroclus, who was admiral in command of the Egyptian men-of-war sent by Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, to help the Athenians, when Antigonus, son of Demetrius, was ravaging their country, which he had invaded with an army, and at the same time was blockading them by sea with a fleet. c. 267–263 B.C.

The Peiraeus was a parish from early times, though it was not a port before Themistocles became an archon of the Athenians. Their port was Phalerum, for at this place the sea comes nearest to 493 B.C.

τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον ἦν, καὶ Μενεσθέα φασὶν αὐτόθεν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Τροίαν ἀναχθῆναι καὶ τούτου πρότερον Θησέα δώσοντα Μίνῳ δίκας τῆς Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτῆς. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἦρξε—τοῖς τε γὰρ πλέουσιν ἐπιτηδειότερος ὁ Πειραιεὺς ἐφαίνετό οἱ προκεῖσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἔχειν τοῦ Φαληροῖ—τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον εἶναι κατεσκευάσατο· καὶ νεὼς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἶκοι καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους. φασὶ γὰρ μεταμελῆσαι τῶν ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὡς οἱ προσήκοντες τὰ ὀστᾶ κομίσαιεν ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελόντες· φαίνονται δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ κατελθόντες καὶ γραφὴν ἐς τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἀναθέντες, ἐν ᾗ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐστι γεγραμμένος.

3 θέας δὲ ἄξιον τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ μάλιστα Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστι καὶ Διὸς τέμενος· χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφότερα τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἔχει δὲ ὁ μὲν σκῆπτρον καὶ Νίκην, ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ δόρυ. ἐνταῦθα Λεωσθένην, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν ἡγούμενος Μακεδόνας ἔν τε Βοιωτοῖς ἐκράτησε μάχῃ καὶ αὖθις ἔξω Θερμοπυλῶν καὶ βιασάμενος ἐς Λάμιαν κατέκλεισε τὴν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Οἴτης, τοῦτον τὸν Λεωσθένην καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔγραψεν Ἀρκεσίλαος. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς τῆς μακρᾶς, ἔνθα καθέστηκεν ἀγορὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης—καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀπωτέρω τοῦ λιμένος ἐστὶν ἑτέρα—, τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης στοᾶς ὄπισθεν ἑστᾶσι Ζεὺς καὶ Δῆμος, Λεωχάρους ἔργον. πρὸς δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ Κόνων ᾠκοδόμησεν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, τριήρεις Λακεδαιμονίων κατεργασάμενος περὶ Κνίδον τὴν ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ χερρονήσῳ. Κνίδιοι γὰρ τιμῶσιν

Athens, and from here men say that Menestheus set sail with his fleet for Troy, and before him Theseus, when he went to give satisfaction to Minos for the death of Androgeos. But when Themistocles became archon, since he thought that the Peiraeus was more conveniently situated for mariners, and had three harbours as against one at Phalerum, he made it the Athenian port. Even up to my time there were docks there, and near the largest harbour is the grave of Themistocles. For it is said that the Athenians repented of their treatment of Themistocles, and that his relations took up his bones and brought them from Magnesia. And the children of Themistocles certainly returned and set up in the Parthenon a painting, on which is a portrait of Themistocles. The most noteworthy sight in the Peiraeus is a precinct of Athena and Zeus. Both their images are of bronze; Zeus holds a staff and a Victory, Athena a spear. Here is a portrait of Leosthenes and of his sons, painted by Arcesilaus. This Leosthenes at the head of the Athenians and the united Greeks defeated the Macedonians in Boeotia and again outside Thermopylae, forced them into Lamia over against Oeta, and shut them up there 323 B.C. The portrait is in the long portico, where stands a market-place for those living near the sea—those farther away from the harbour have another—but behind the portico near the sea stand a Zeus and a Demos, the work of Leochares. And by the sea Conon built a sanctuary of Aphrodite, *fl. c.* 350 B.C. after he had crushed the Lacedaemonian warships off Cnidus in the Carian peninsula. 394 B.C. For the Cnidians

Ἀφροδίτην μάλιστα, καί σφισιν ἔστιν ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαιότατον Δωρίτιδος, μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀκραίας, νεώτατον δὲ ἣν Κνιδίαν οἱ πολλοί, Κνίδιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν Εὔπλοιαν.

4 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀθηναίοις ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνυχίᾳ λιμὴν καὶ Μουνυχίας ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηταί μοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ Δήμητρος ἱερόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς ναός ἐστι καὶ Διὸς ἀπωτέρω, βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων Ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων καὶ παίδων τῶν Θησέως καὶ Φαληροῦ· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Φαληρὸν Ἀθηναῖοι πλεῦσαι μετὰ Ἰάσονός φασιν ἐς Κόλχους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρόγεω βωμὸς τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ Ἥρως· Ἀνδρόγεω δὲ ὄντα ἴσασιν οἷς ἐστιν ἐπιμελὲς τὰ
5 ἐγχώρια σαφέστερον ἄλλων ἐπίστασθαι. ἀπέχει δὲ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἄκρα Κωλιάς· ἐς ταύτην φθαρέντος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ Μήδων κατήνεγκεν ὁ κλύδων τὰ ναυάγια. Κωλιάδος δέ ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα καὶ Γενετυλλίδες ὀνομαζόμεναι θεαί· δυκῶ δὲ καὶ Φωκαεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ θεάς, ἃς καλοῦσι Γενναΐδας, εἶναι ταῖς ἐπὶ Κωλιάδι τὰς αὐτάς.—ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Φαληροῦ ναὸς Ἥρας οὔτε θύρας ἔχων οὔτε ὄροφον· Μαρδόνιόν φασιν αὐτὸν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν Γωβρύου. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν δή, καθὰ λέγουσιν, Ἀλκαμένους ἐστὶν ἔργον· οὐκ ἂν τοῦτό γε ὁ Μῆδος εἴη λελωβημένος.

11. Ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Αν-

hold Aphrodite in very great honour, and they have sanctuaries of the goddess; the oldest is to her as Doritis (*Bountiful*), the next in age as Acraea (*Of the Height*), while the newest is to the Aphrodite called Cnidian by men generally, but Euploia (*Fair Voyage*) by the Cnidians themselves.

The Athenians have also another harbour, at Munychia, with a temple of Artemis of Munychia, and yet another at Phalerum, as I have already stated, and near it is a sanctuary of Demeter. Here there is also a temple of Athena Sciras, and one of Zeus some distance away, and altars of the gods named Unknown, and of heroes, and of the children of Theseus and Phalerus; for this Phalerus is said by the Athenians to have sailed with Jason to Colchis. There is also an altar of Androgeos, son of Minos, though it is called that of Heros; those, however, who pay special attention to the study of their country's antiquities know that it belongs to Androgeos. Twenty stades away is the Coliad promontory; on to it, when the Persian fleet was destroyed, the wrecks were carried down by the waves. There is here an image of the Coliad Aphrodite, with the goddesses Genetyllides (*Goddesses of Birth*), as they are called. And I am of opinion that the goddesses of the Phocaeans in Ionia, whom they call Gennaïdes, are the same as those at Colias. On the way from Phalerum to Athens there is a temple of Hera with neither doors nor roof. Men say that Mardonius, son of Gobryas, burnt it. But the image there to-day is, as report goes, the work of Alcamenes. So that this, at any rate, cannot have been damaged by the Persians. *fl.* 440–400 B.C.

II. On entering the city there is a monument to

τιόπης μνῆμα Ἀμαζόνος. ταύτην τὴν Ἀντιόπην Πίνδαρος μέν φησιν ὑπὸ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως ἁρπασθῆναι, Τροιζηνίῳ δὲ Ἡγίᾳ τοιάδε ἐς αὐτὴν πεποίηται· Ἡρακλέα Θεμίσκυραν πολιορκοῦντα τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ἑλεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι, Θησέως δὲ ἐρασθεῖσαν Ἀντιόπην—στρατεῦσαι γὰρ ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Θησέα—παραδοῦναι τὸ χωρίον. τάδε μὲν Ἡγίας πεποίηκεν· Ἀθηναῖοι δέ φασιν, ἐπεί τε ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες, Ἀντιόπην μὲν ὑπὸ Μολπαδίας τοξευθῆναι, Μολπαδίαν δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Θησέως. καὶ μνῆμά ἐστι καὶ Μολπαδίας Ἀθηναίοις.

2 Ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν ἐστιν, ἃ Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδῳ ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε· τὰ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οἰκοδομηθέντα τὴν Μήδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καθῃρέθη τῶν τριάκοντα ὀνομαζομένων. εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν γνωριμώτατοι Μενάνδρου τοῦ Διοπείθους καὶ μνῆμα Εὐριπίδου κενόν· τέθαπται δὲ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἐλθὼν Ἀρχέλαον, ὁ δέ οἱ τοῦ θανάτου τρόπος—πολλοῖς γάρ ἐστιν εἰρημένος—ἐχέτω
3 καθὰ λέγουσιν. συνῆσαν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τότε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ποιηταὶ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι καὶ Πολυκράτει Σάμου τυραννοῦντι Ἀνακρέων παρῆν καὶ ἐς Συρακούσας πρὸς Ἱέρωνα Αἰσχύλος καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐστάλησαν· Διονυσίῳ δέ, ὃς ὕστερον ἐτυράννησεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, Φιλόξενος παρῆν καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντι Ἀνταγόρας Ῥόδιος καὶ Σολεὺς Ἄρατος. Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἢ συγγενέσθαι βασιλεῦσιν ἠτύχησαν ἢ καὶ ἑκόντες ὠλιγώρησαν, ὁ μὲν ἀγροικίᾳ καὶ ὄκνῳ

Antiope the Amazon. This Antiope, Pindar says, was carried off by Peirithous and Theseus, but Hegias of Troezen gives the following account of her. Heracles was besieging Themiscyra on the Thermodon, but could not take it, but Antiope, falling in love with Theseus, who was aiding Heracles in his campaign, surrendered the stronghold. Such is the account of Hegias. But the Athenians assert that when the Amazons came, Antiope was shot by Molpadia, while Molpadia was killed by Theseus. To Molpadia also there is a monument among the Athenians.

As you go up from the Peiraeus you see the ruins of the walls which Conon restored after the naval battle off Cnidus. For those built by Themistocles after the retreat of the Persians were destroyed during the rule of those named the Thirty. Along the road are very famous graves, that of Menander, son of Diopeithes, and a cenotaph of Euripides. He himself went to King Archelaus and lies buried in Macedonia; as to the manner of his death (many have described it), let it be as they say. So even in his time poets lived at the courts of kings, as earlier still Anacreon consorted with Polycrates, despot of Samos, and Aeschylus and Simonides journeyed to Hiero at Syracuse. Dionysius, afterwards despot in Sicily, had Philoxenus at his court, and Antigonus,[1] ruler of Macedonia, had Antagoras of Rhodes and Aratus of Soli. But Hesiod and Homer either failed to win the society of kings or else purposely despised it, Hesiod through boorishness and reluctance to

404–403 B.C.

[1] Antigonus surnamed Gonatas became king of Macedonia in 283 B.C.

πλάνης, Ὅμηρος δὲ ἀποδημήσας ἐπὶ μακρότατον καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τὴν ἐς χρήματα παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ὑστέραν θέμενος τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξης, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν Ἀλκίνῳ παρεῖναι Δημόδοκον καὶ ὡς Ἀγαμέμνων καταλείποι τινὰ παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ ποιητήν.—ἔστι δὲ τάφος οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπίθημα ἔχων στρατιώτην ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα· ὄντινα μέν, οὐκ οἶδα, Πραξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ἐποίησεν.

4 Ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδόμημα ἐς παρασκευὴν ἐστι τῶν πομπῶν, ἃς πέμπουσι τὰς μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνου διαλείποντες. καὶ πλησίον ναός ἐστι Δήμητρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτή τε καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ δᾷδα ἔχων Ἴακχος· γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶν ἐστιν ἐφ' ἵππου, δόρυ ἀφιεὶς ἐπὶ γίγαντα Πολυβώτην, ἐς ὃν Κῷοις ὁ μῦθος ὁ περὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἔχει τῆς Χελώνης· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὴν εἰκόνα ἄλλῳ δίδωσι καὶ οὐ Ποσειδῶνι. στοαὶ δέ εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαῖ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοις τι ὑπῆρχεν
5 ἐς δόξαν. ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν στοῶν ἔχει μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἔχει δὲ γυμνάσιον Ἑρμοῦ καλούμενον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Πουλυτίωνος οἰκία, καθ' ἣν παρὰ τὴν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι δρᾶσαι τελετὴν Ἀθηναίων φασὶν οὐ τοὺς ἀφανεστάτους· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀνεῖτο Διονύσῳ. Διόνυσον δὲ τοῦτον καλοῦσι Μελπόμενον ἐπὶ λογῳ τοιῷδε ἐφ' ὁποίῳ περ Ἀπόλλωνα Μουσηγέτην. ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς

travel, while Homer, having gone very far abroad, depreciated the help afforded by despots in the acquisition of wealth in comparison with his reputation among ordinary men. And yet Homer, too, in his poem makes Demodocus live at the court of Alcinous, and Agamemnon leave a poet with his wife. Not far from the gates is a grave, on which is mounted a soldier standing by a horse. Who it is I do not know, but both horse and soldier were carved by Praxiteles.

On entering the city there is a building for the preparation of the processions, which are held in some cases every year, in others at longer intervals. Hard by is a temple of Demeter, with images of the goddess herself and of her daughter, and of Iacchus holding a torch. On the wall, in Attic characters, is written that they are works of Praxiteles. Not far from the temple is Poseidon on horseback, hurling a spear against the giant Polybotes, concerning whom is prevalent among the Coans the story about the promontory of Chelone. But the inscription of our time assigns the statue to another, and not to Poseidon. From the gate to the Cerameicus there are porticoes, and in front of them brazen statues of such as had some title to fame, both men and women. One of the porticoes contains shrines of gods, and a gymnasium called that of Hermes. In it is the house of Pulytion, at which it is said that a mystic rite was performed by the most notable Athenians, parodying the Eleusinian mysteries. But in my time it was devoted to the worship of Dionysus. This Dionysus they call Melpomenus (*Minstrel*), on the same principle as they call Apollo Musegetes (*Leader of the Muses*). Here there are images of

ἄγαλμα Παιωνίας καὶ Διὸς καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ Μουσῶν, Ἀπόλλων τε ἀνάθημα καὶ ἔργον Εὐβουλίδου, καὶ δαίμων τῶν ἀμφὶ Διόνυσον Ἄκρατος· πρόσωπόν ἐστιν οἱ μόνον ἐνῳκοδομημένον τοίχῳ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τέμενός ἐστιν οἴκημα ἀγάλματα ἔχον ἐκ πηλοῦ, βασιλεὺς Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύων ἄλλους τε θεοὺς ἑστιῶν καὶ Διόνυσον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Πήγασός ἐστιν Ἐλευθερεύς, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν θεὸν ἐσήγαγε· συνεπελάβετο δέ οἱ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον ἀναμεῖναν τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰκαρίου ποτὲ ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

6 τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἀμφικτύων ἔσχεν οὕτως. Ἀκταῖον λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀττικῇ βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀκταίου Κέκροψ ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν Ἀκταίου, καί οἱ γίνονται θυγατέρες μὲν Ἔρση καὶ Ἄγλαυρος καὶ Πάνδροσος, υἱὸς δὲ Ἐρυσίχθων· οὗτος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλά οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς ζῶντος τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Κέκροπος Κραναὸς ἐξεδέξατο, Ἀθηναίων δυνάμει προύχων. Κραναῷ δὲ θυγατέρας καὶ ἄλλας καὶ Ἀτθίδα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀττικὴν τὴν χώραν, πρότερον καλουμένην Ἀκταίαν. Κραναῷ δὲ Ἀμφικτύων ἐπαναστάς, θυγατέρα ὅμως ἔχων αὐτοῦ, παύει τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ αὐτὸς ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἐριχθονίου καὶ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων ἐκπίπτει· πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθονίῳ λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα εἶναι, γονέας δὲ Ἥφαιστον καὶ Γῆν.

III. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμου, Διονύσου τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τούτου λεγομένου· πρώτη δέ ἐστιν

Athena Paeonia (*Healer*), of Zeus, of Mnemosyne (*Memory*) and of the Muses, an Apollo, the votive offering and work of Eubulides, and Acratus, a daemon attendant upon Apollo; it is only a face of him worked into the wall. After the precinct of Apollo is a building that contains earthenware images, Amphictyon, king of Athens, feasting Dionysus and other gods. Here also is Pegasus of Eleutherae, who introduced the god to the Athenians. Herein he was helped by the oracle at Delphi, which called to mind that the god once dwelt in Athens in the days of Icarius. Amphictyon won the kingdom thus. It is said that Actaeus was the first king of what is now Attica. When he died, Cecrops, the son-in-law of Actaeus, received the kingdom, and there were born to him daughters, Herse, Aglaurus and Pandrosus, and a son Erysichthon. This son did not become king of the Athenians, but happened to die while his father lived, and the kingdom of Cecrops fell to Cranaus, the most powerful of the Athenians. They say that Cranaus had daughters, and among them Atthis; and from her they call the country Attica, which before was named Actaea. And Amphictyon, rising up against Cranaus, although he had his daughter to wife, deposed him from power. Afterwards he himself was banished by Erichthonius and his fellow rebels. Men say that Erichthonius had no human father, but that his parents were Hephaestus and Earth.

III. The district of the Cerameicus has its name from the hero Ceramus, he too being the reputed son of Dionysus and Ariadne. First on the right is

ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασίλειος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἐνιαυσίαν ἄρχων ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. ταύτης ἔπεστι τῷ κεράμῳ τῆς στοᾶς ἀγάλματα ὀπτῆς γῆς, ἀφιεὶς Θησεὺς ἐς θάλασσαν Σκίρωνα καὶ φέρουσα Ἡμέρα Κέφαλον, ὃν κάλλιστον γενόμενόν φασιν ὑπὸ Ἡμέρας ἐρασθείσης ἁρπασθῆναι· καὶ οἱ παῖδα γενέσθαι Φαέθοντα, <ὃν ὕστερον ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἥρπασε> . . . καὶ φύλακα ἐποίησε τοῦ ναοῦ. ταῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος εἴρηκεν ἐν ἔπεσι τοῖς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας.

2 πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἔστηκε καὶ Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας, ὃς καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὰς Φοινίσσας ἔπραξε παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου δοθῆναι Κόνωνι· ἔπραξε δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐπεὶ καὶ γενεαλογῶν ἐς προγόνους ἀνέβαινε Τεῦκρον καὶ Κινύρου θυγατέρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός, ἐς ἄλλους τε ὢν ἦρχεν εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα ἀποδειξάμενος τὴν

3 Ἀθηναίων. στοὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πέραν Θησεύς ἐστι γεγραμμένος καὶ Δημοκρατία τε καὶ Δῆμος. δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ γραφὴ Θησέα εἶναι τὸν καταστήσαντα Ἀθηναίοις ἐξ ἴσου πολιτεύεσθαι· κεχώρηκε δὲ φήμη καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τοὺς πολλούς, ὡς Θησεὺς παραδοίη τὰ πράγματα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου δημοκρατούμενοι διαμείναιεν, πρὶν ἢ Πεισίστρατος ἐτυράννησεν ἐπαναστάς. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς οἷα ἱστορίας ἀνηκόοις οὖσι καὶ ὁπόσα ἤκουον εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἔν τε

what is called the Royal Portico, where sits the king when holding the yearly office called the kingship. On the tiling of this portico are images of baked earthenware, Theseus throwing Sciron into the sea and Day carrying away Cephalus, who they say was very beautiful and was ravished by Day, who was in love with him. His son was Phaëthon, <afterwards ravished by Aphrodite> . . . and made a guardian of her temple. Such is the tale told by Hesiod, among others, in his poem on women. Near the Portico stand Conon, Timotheus his son and Evagoras[1] King of Cyprus, who caused the Phoenician men-of-war to be given to Conon by King Artaxerxes. This he did as an Athenian whose ancestry connected him with Salamis, for he traced his pedigree back to Teucer and the daughter of Cinyras. Here stands Zeus, called Zeus of Freedom, and the Emperor Hadrian, a benefactor to all his subjects and especially to the city of the Athenians. A portico is built behind with pictures of the gods called the Twelve. On the wall opposite are painted Theseus, Democracy and Demos. The picture represents Theseus as the one who gave the Athenians political equality. By other means also has the report spread among men that Theseus bestowed sovereignty upon the people, and that from his time they continued under a democratical government, until Peisistratus rose up and became despot. But there are many false beliefs current among the mass of mankind, since they are ignorant of historical science and consider trustworthy whatever

560–527 B.C.

[1] Evagoras was a king of Salamis in Cyprus, who reigned from about 410 to 374 B.C. He favoured the Athenians, and helped Conon to defeat the Spartan fleet off Cnidus in 394 B.C.

χοροῖς καὶ τραγῳδίαις πιστὰ ἡγουμένοις, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Θησέα, ὃς αὐτός τε ἐβασίλευσε καὶ ὕστερον Μενεσθέως τελευτήσαντος καὶ ἐς τετάρτην οἱ Θησεῖδαι γενεὰν διέμειναν ἄρχοντες. εἰ δέ μοι γενεαλογεῖν ἤρεσκε, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μελάνθου βασιλεύσαντας ἐς Κλείδικον τὸν Αἰσιμίδου καὶ τούτους ἂν ἀπηριθμησάμην.

4 Ἐνταῦθά ἐστι γεγραμμένον καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαντίνειαν Ἀθηναίων ἔργον, οἳ βοηθήσοντες Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπέμφθησαν. συνέγραψαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ξενοφῶν τὸν πάντα πόλεμον, κατάληψίν τε τῆς Καδμείας καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ ὡς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐσέβαλον Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἐλθοῦσαν· ἐν δὲ τῇ γραφῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐστὶ μάχη, ἐν ᾗ γνωριμώτατοι Γρύλος τε ὁ Ξενοφῶντος ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἵππον τὴν Βοιωτίαν Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Θηβαῖος. ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῷον ἐπίκλησιν· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεὼ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσαν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.

5 Ὠκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων βουλευτήριον, οἳ βουλεύουσιν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις· Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξύανον Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τέχνῃ Πεισίου καὶ Δῆμος ἔργον Λύσωνος. τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας

they have heard from childhood in choruses and tragedies; one of these is about Theseus, who in fact himself became king, and afterwards, when Menestheus was dead, the descendants of Theseus remained rulers even to the fourth generation. But if I cared about tracing the pedigree I should have included in the list, besides these, the kings from Melanthus to Cleidicus the son of Aesimides.

Here is a picture of the exploit, near Mantinea, of the Athenians who were sent to help the Lacedaemonians. Xenophon among others has written a history of the whole war—the taking of the Cadmea, the defeat of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, how the Boeotians invaded the Peloponnesus, and the contingent sent to the Lacedaemonians from the Athenians. In the picture is a cavalry battle, in which the most famous men are, among the Athenians, Grylus the son of Xenophon, and in the Boeotian cavalry, Epaminondas the Theban. These pictures were painted for the Athenians by Euphranor, and he also wrought the Apollo surnamed Patroüs (*Paternal*) in the temple hard by. And in front of the temple is one Apollo made by Leochares; the other Apollo, called Averter of evil, was made by Calamis. They say that the god received this name because by an oracle from Delphi he stayed the pestilence which afflicted the Athenians at the time of the Peloponnesian War. 362 B.C. 430 B.C.

Here is built also a sanctuary of the Mother of the gods; the image is by Pheidias. Hard by is the council chamber of those called the Five Hundred, who are the Athenian councillors for a year. In it are a wooden figure of Zeus Counsellor and an Apollo, the work of Peisias,[1] and a Demos by Lyson.[1] The 490–482 B.C.

[1] The dates of these artists are unknown.

ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης Καύνιος, Ὀλβιάδης δὲ Κάλλιππον, ὃς Ἀθηναίους ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἤγαγε φυλάξοντας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Γαλατῶν ἐσβολήν.

IV. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται οὗτοι νέμονται τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πολλῇ καὶ ἐς τὰ πέρατα οὐ πλωίμῳ, παρέχεται δὲ ἄμπωτιν καὶ ῥαχίαν καὶ θηρία οὐδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς ἐν θαλάσσῃ τῇ λοιπῇ· καί σφισι διὰ τῆς χώρας ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Ἠριδανός, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς Ἡλίου ὀδύρεσθαι νομίζουσι τὸ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν πάθος. ὀψὲ δέ ποτε αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐξενίκησεν· Κελτοὶ γὰρ κατά τε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠνομάζοντο. συλλεγεῖσα δέ σφισι στρατιὰ τρέπεται τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίου, καὶ τό τε Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνος καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄχρι Μακεδόνων ᾤκει καὶ Μακεδόνας αὐτοὺς ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε Θεσσαλίαν τε ἐπέδραμε. καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς Θερμοπυλῶν ἐγίνοντο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὴν ἔφοδον ἡσύχαζον τῶν βαρβάρων, ἅτε ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλως καὶ Φιλίππου κακωθέντες πρότερον· καθεῖλε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κάσσανδρος ὕστερον τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὥστε ἕκαστοι δι' ἀσθένειαν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἐνόμιζον ἀπεῖναι
2 τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς τῆς βοηθείας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μάλιστα μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπειρήκεσαν μήκει τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ πολέμου καὶ προσπταίοντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἐξιέναι δὲ ὅμως ὥρμηντο ἐς τὰς Θερμοπύλας σὺν τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἑλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Κάλλιππον τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι. καταλαβόντες δὲ ᾗ στενώτατον ἦν, τῆς ἐσόδου

thesmothetae (*lawgivers*) were painted by Protogenes[1] the Caunian, and Olbiades[2] portrayed Callippus, who led the Athenians to Thermopylae to stop the in- 279 B.C.
cursion of the Gauls into Greece.

IV. These Gauls inhabit the most remote portion of Europe, near a great sea that is not navigable to its extremities, and possesses ebb and flow and creatures quite unlike those of other seas. Through their country flows the river Eridanus, on the bank of which the daughters of Helius (*Sun*) are supposed to lament the fate that befell their brother Phaëthon. It was late before the name "Gauls" came into vogue; for anciently they were called Celts both amongst themselves and by others. An army of them mustered and turned towards the Ionian Sea, dispossessed the Illyrian people, all who dwelt as far as Macedonia with the Macedonians themselves, and overran Thessaly. And when they drew near to Thermopylae, the Greeks in general made no move to prevent the inroad of the barbarians, since previously they had been severely defeated by Alexander and Philip. Further, Antipater and Cassander[3] afterwards crushed the Greeks, so that through weakness each state thought no shame of itself taking no part in the defence of the country. But the Athenians, although they were more exhausted than any of the Greeks by the long Macedonian war, and had been generally unsuccessful in their battles, nevertheless set forth to Thermopylae with such Greeks as joined them, having made the Callippus I mentioned their general. Occupying the pass where it was narrowest,

[1] A contemporary of Alexander the Great.
[2] An unknown painter.
[3] Antipater and Cassander were successors of Alexander the Great.

τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἴργον τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἀνευρόντες δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν ἀτραπόν, ἣν καὶ Μήδοις ποτὲ Ἐφιάλτης ἡγήσατο ὁ Τραχίνιος, καὶ βιασάμενοι Φωκέων τοὺς τεταγμένους ἐπ' αὐτῇ λανθάνουσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπερβαλόντες
3 τὴν Οἴτην. ἔνθα δὴ πλείστου παρέσχοντο αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀξίους, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὡς ἐκυκλώθησαν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δέ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρουν ἅτε τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Λαμιακοῦ τέλματος πρὸς ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις ὄντος· αἴτιον δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ ταύτῃ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκρέον ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. μείζονα οὖν εἶχον οὗτοι πόνον· ἀναλαβόντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ καταστρώματα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ναυσὶν ὑπό τε ὅπλων βαρείαις καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐβιάζοντο κατὰ τοῦ
4 πηλοῦ πλεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον ἔσωζον, οἱ δὲ Γαλάται Πυλῶν τε ἐντὸς ἦσαν καὶ τὰ πολίσματα ἐλεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ποιησάμενοι Δελφοὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ θεοῦ διαρπάσαι μάλιστα εἶχον σπουδήν. καί σφισιν αὐτοί τε Δελφοὶ καὶ Φωκέων ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ τὰς πόλεις περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκοῦντες, ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ δύναμις Λιτωλῶν· τὸ γὰρ Λιτωλικὸν προεῖχεν ἀκμῇ νεότητος τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον. ὡς δὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνῆσαν, ἐνταῦθα κεραυνοί τε ἐφέροντο ἐς τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ ἀπορραγεῖσαι πέτραι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, δείματά τε ἄνδρες ἐφίσταντο ὁπλῖται τοῖς βαρβάροις· τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν, Ὑπέροχον καὶ Ἀμάδοκον, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Πύρρον εἶναι τὸν Ἀχιλλέως· ἐναγίζουσι δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Δελφοὶ τῆς συμμαχίας Πύρρῳ, πρότερον ἔχοντες ἅτε ἀνδρὸς

they tried to keep the foreigners from entering Greece; but the Celts, having discovered the path by which Ephialtes of Trachis once led the Persians, over- 480 B.C.
whelmed the Phocians stationed there and crossed Oeta unperceived by the Greeks. Then it was that the Athenians put the Greeks under the greatest obligation, and although outflanked offered resistance to the foreigners on two sides. But the Athenians on the fleet suffered most, for the Lamian gulf is a swamp near Thermopylae—the reason being, I think, the hot water that here runs into the sea. These then were more distressed; for taking the Greeks on board they were forced to sail through the mud weighted as they were by arms and men. So they tried to save Greece in the way described, but the Gauls, now south of the Gates, cared not at all to capture the other towns, but were very eager to sack Delphi and the treasures of the god. They were opposed by the Delphians themselves and the Phocians of the cities around Parnassus; a force of Aetolians also joined the defenders, for the Aetolians at this time were pre-eminent for their vigorous activity. When the forces engaged, not only were thunderbolts and rocks broken off from Parnassus hurled against the Gauls, but terrible shapes as armed warriors haunted the foreigners. They say that two of them, Hyperochus and Amadocus, came from the Hyperboreans, and that the third was Pyrrhus son of Achilles. Because of this help in battle the Delphians sacrifice to Pyrrhus as to a hero, although formerly they held even his tomb in dishonour, as

5 πολεμίου καὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ. Γαλατῶν δὲ
οἱ πολλοὶ ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάντες τὰ
παραθαλάσσια αὐτῆς ἐληλάτουν· χρόνῳ δὲ
ὕστερον οἱ Πέργαμον ἔχοντες, πάλαι δὲ Τευθρα-
νίαν καλουμένην, ἐς ταύτην Γαλάτας ἐλαύνουσιν
ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐκτὸς Σαγγα-
ρίου χώραν ἔσχον Ἄγκυραν πόλιν ἑλόντες Φρυ-
γῶν, ἣν Μίδας ὁ Γορδίου πρότερον ᾤκισεν—
ἄγκυρα δέ, ἣν ὁ Μίδας ἀνεῦρεν, ἦν ἔτι καὶ ἐς
ἐμὲ ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς καὶ κρήνη Μίδου καλουμένη·
ταύτην οἴνῳ κεράσαι Μίδαν φασὶν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν
τοῦ Σιληνοῦ—, ταύτην τε δὴ τὴν Ἄγκυραν εἷλον
καὶ Πεσσινοῦντα τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἀγ-
διστιν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Ἄττην τεθάφθαι λέγουσι.
6 Περγαμηνοῖς δὲ ἔστι μὲν σκῦλα ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν,
ἔστι δὲ γραφὴ τὸ ἔργον τὸ πρὸς Γαλάτας
ἔχουσα. ἣν δὲ νέμονται οἱ Περγαμηνοί, Καβεί-
ρων ἱεράν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον· αὐτοὶ δὲ
Ἀρκάδες ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι τῶν ὁμοῦ Τηλέφῳ δια-
βάντων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πολέμων δὲ τῶν μὲν
ἄλλων, εἰ δή τινας ἐπολέμησαν, οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας
κεχώρηκεν ἡ φήμη· τρία δὲ γνωριμώτατα ἐξείρ-
γασταί σφισι, τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἀρχὴ τῆς κάτω καὶ
ἡ Γαλατῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀναχώρησις καὶ τὸ ἐς τοὺς
σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τηλέφου τόλμημα, ὅτε Ἕλληνες
ἁμαρτόντες Ἰλίου τὸ πεδίον ἐληλάτουν τὸ Μήιον
ὡς γῆν Τρῳάδα. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅθεν
ἐξέβην τοῦ λόγου.

V. Τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον
Θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη, καὶ θύουσί τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ
πρυτάνεις καί τινα καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἐστὶν

being that of an enemy. The greater number of the Gauls crossed over to Asia by ship and plundered its coasts. Some time after, the inhabitants of Pergamus, that was called of old Teuthrania, drove the Gauls into it from the sea. Now this people occupied the country on the farther side of the river Sangarius, capturing Ancyra, a city of the Phrygians, which Midas son of Gordius had founded in former time. And the anchor, which Midas found,[1] was even as late as my time in the sanctuary of Zeus, as well as a spring called the Spring of Midas, water from which they say Midas mixed with wine to capture Silenus. Well then, the Pergameni took Ancyra and Pessinus which lies under Mount Agdistis, where they say that Attis lies buried. They have spoils from the Gauls, and a painting which portrays their deed against them. The land they dwell in was, they say, in ancient times sacred to the Cabeiri, and they claim that they are themselves Arcadians, being of those who crossed into Asia with Telephus. Of the wars that they have waged no account has been published to the world, except that they have accomplished three most notable achievements; the subjection of the coast region of Asia, the expulsion of the Gauls therefrom, and the exploit of Telephus against the followers of Agamemnon, at a time when the Greeks, after missing Troy, were plundering the Meïan plain thinking it Trojan territory. Now I will return from my digression.

V. Near to the Council Chamber of the Five Hundred is what is called Tholos (*Round House*); here the Presidents sacrifice, and there are a few

[1] A legend invented to explain the name Ancyra, which means *anchor*.

ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἑστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀθηναίοις ὕστερον τὰ ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαί· ὅστις δὲ κατεστήσατο δέκα ἀντὶ τεσσάρων φυλὰς εἶναι καὶ μετέθετό σφισι τὰ ὀνόματα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων, Ἡροδότῳ
2 καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν εἰρημένα. τῶν δὲ ἐπωνύμων—καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτω σφᾶς—ἔστι μὲν Ἱπποθόων Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀλόπης θυγατρὸς Κερκυόνος, ἔστι δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους, γενόμενος ἐκ Μήδας Ἡρακλεῖ τῆς Φύλαντος, καὶ τρίτος Λῖας ὁ Τελαμῶνος, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηναίων Λεώς· δοῦναι δὲ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ λέγεται κοινῇ τὰς θυγατέρας τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος. Ἐρεχθεύς τέ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις, ὃς ἐνίκησεν Ἐλευσινίους μάχῃ καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰμμάραδον τὸν Εὐμόλπου· Αἰγεύς τέ ἐστι καὶ Οἰνεὺς Πανδίονος υἱὸς νόθος καὶ τῶν Θησέως παίδων Ἀκάμας.
3 Κέκροπα δὲ καὶ Πανδίονα—εἶδον γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις εἰκόνας—οὐκ οἶδα οὓς ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ· πρότερός τε γὰρ ἦρξε Κέκροψ, ὃς τὴν Ἀκταίου θυγατέρα ἔσχε, καὶ ὕστερος, ὃς δὴ καὶ μετῴκησεν ἐς Εὔβοιαν, Ἐρεχθέως υἱὸς τοῦ Πανδίονος τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου. καὶ δὴ καὶ Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν ὅ τε Ἐριχθονίου καὶ ὁ Κέκροπος τοῦ δευτέρου· τοῦτον Μητιονίδαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνουσι, καί οἱ φυγόντι ἐς Μέγαρα—θυγατέρα γὰρ εἶχε Πύλα τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Μεγάροις—συνεκπίπτουσιν οἱ παῖδες. καὶ Πανδίονα μὲν αὐτοῦ λέγεται νοσήσαντα ἀποθανεῖν, καί οἱ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ μνῆμά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς Αἰθυίας καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ·
4 οἱ δὲ παῖδες κατίασί τε ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων ἐκβαλ-

small statues made of silver. Farther up stand statues of heroes, from whom afterwards the Athenian tribes received their names. Who the man was who established ten tribes instead of four, and changed their old names to new ones—all this is told by Herodotus.[1] The *eponymoi*[2]—this is the name given to them—are Hippothoön son of Poseidon and Alope daughter of Cercyon, Antiochus, one of the children of Heracles borne to him by Meda daughter of Phylas, thirdly, Ajax son of Telamon, and to the Athenians belongs Leos, who is said to have given up his daughters, at the command of the oracle, for the safety of the commonwealth. Among the *eponymoi* is Erechtheus, who conquered the Eleusinians in battle, and killed their general, Immaradus the son of Eumolpus. There is Aegeus also and Oeneus the bastard son of Pandion, and Acamas, one of the children of Theseus. I saw also among the *eponymoi* statues of Cecrops and Pandion, but I do not know who of those names are thus honoured. For there was an earlier ruler Cecrops who took to wife the daughter of Actaeus, and a later—he it was who migrated to Euboea—son of Erechtheus, son of Pandion, son of Erichthonius. And there was a king Pandion who was son of Erichthonius, and another who was son of Cecrops the second. This man was deposed from his kingdom by the Metionidae, and when he fled to Megara—for he had to wife the daughter of Pylas king of Megara—his children were banished with him. And Pandion is said to have fallen ill there and died, and on the coast of the Megarid is his tomb, on the rock called the rock of Athena the Gannet. But his children expelled the

[1] See v. 66 and 69. The reform took place in 508 B.C.

[2] That is, *those after whom others are named.*

όντες Μητιονίδας, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Αἰγεὺς πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἔσχεν. θυγατέρας δὲ οὐ σὺν ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι ἔθρεψεν ὁ Πανδίων, οὐδέ οἱ τιμωροὶ παῖδες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλείφθησαν· καίτοι δυνάμεώς γε ἕνεκα πρὸς τὸν Θρᾷκα τὸ κῆδος ἐποιήσατο. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ παραβῆναι τὸ καθῆκον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ· λέγουσιν ὡς Τηρεὺς συνοικῶν Πρόκνῃ Φιλομήλαν ᾔσχυνεν, οὐ κατὰ νόμον ἐράσας τὸν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔτι λωβησάμενος τῇ παιδὶ ἤγαγεν ἐς ἀνάγκην δίκης τὰς γυναῖκας. Πανδίονι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνδριάς ἐστιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει θέας ἄξιος.

5 *Οἵδε μέν εἰσιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπώνυμοι τῶν ἀρχαίων· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε φυλὰς ἔχουσιν, Ἀττάλου τοῦ Μυσοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἤδη βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ τῆς τε ἐς τὸ θεῖον τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθόντος καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ μέγιστα ἑκάστοις παρασχομένου. καὶ ἐς μὲν πόλεμον οὐδένα ἑκούσιος κατέστη, Ἑβραίους δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Σύρων ἐχειρώσατο ἀποστάντας· ὁπόσα δὲ θεῶν ἱερὰ τὰ μὲν ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπεκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασι καὶ κατασκευαῖς ἃ δωρεὰς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν Ἑλληνίσι, τὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς δεηθεῖσιν, ἔστιν οἱ πάντα γεγραμμένα Ἀθήνῃσιν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ. VI. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἄτταλον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἡλικίᾳ τε ἦν ἀρχαιότερα, ὡς μὴ μένειν ἔτι τὴν φήμην αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ συγγενόμενοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπὶ συγγραφῇ τῶν*

[1] This king of Pergamus visited Athens in 200 B.C. in the company of the Roman ambassadors, and was treated with every mark of respect by the Athenians.

Metionidae, and returned from banishment at Megara, and Aegeus, as the eldest, became king of the Athenians. But in rearing daughters Pandion was unlucky, nor did they leave any sons to avenge him. And yet it was for the sake of power that he made the marriage alliance with the king of Thrace. But there is no way for a mortal to overstep what the deity thinks fit to send. They say that Tereus, though wedded to Procne, dishonoured Philomela, thereby transgressing Greek custom, and further, having mangled the body of the damsel, constrained the women to avenge her. There is another statue, well worth seeing, of Pandion on the Acropolis.

These are the Athenian *eponymoi* who belong to the ancients. And of later date than these they have tribes named after the following, Attalus[1] the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian,[2] and within my own time the emperor Hadrian, who was extremely religious in the respect he paid to the deity, and contributed very much to the happiness of his various subjects. He never voluntarily entered upon a war, but he reduced the Hebrews beyond Syria, who had rebelled. As for the sanctuaries of the gods that in some cases he built from the beginning, in others adorned with offerings and furniture, and the bounties he gave to Greek cities, and sometimes even to foreigners who asked him, all these acts are inscribed in his honour in the sanctuary at Athens common to all the gods. VI. But as to the history of Attalus and Ptolemy, it is more ancient in point of time, so that tradition no longer remains, and those who lived with these kings for the purpose of chronicling their deeds

117–138 A.D.

132 A.D.

[2] It is uncertain to which of the many kings of Egypt called by this name Pausanias refers.

ἔργων καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἠμελήθησαν· τούτων ἕνεκά μοι καὶ τὰ τῶνδε ἐπῆλθε δηλῶσαι ἔργα τε ὁποῖα ἔπραξαν καὶ ὡς ἐς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν περιεχώρησεν Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἡ Μυσῶν καὶ τῶν προσοίκων ἀρχή.

2 Πτολεμαῖον Μακεδόνες Φιλίππου παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Ἀμύντου, λόγῳ δὲ Λάγου νομίζουσι· τὴν γάρ οἱ μητέρα ἔχουσαν ἐν γαστρὶ δοθῆναι γυναῖκα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου Λάγῳ. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ λέγουσιν ἄλλα τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ λαμπρὰ ἀποδείξασθαι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κινδύνου ξυμβάντος ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις μάλιστά οἱ τῶν ἑταίρων ἀμῦναι. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῖς ἐς Ἀριδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου τὴν πᾶσαν ἄγουσιν ἀρχὴν ἀντιστὰς αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐγένετο ἐς τὰς βασιλείας αἴτιος τὰ ἔθνη
3 νεμηθῆναι. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον διαβὰς Κλεομένην τε ἀπέκτεινεν, ὃν σατραπεύειν Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν Ἀλέξανδρος, Περδίκκᾳ νομίζων εὔνουν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐ πιστὸν αὐτῷ, καὶ Μακεδόνων τοὺς ταχθέντας τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν ἐς Αἰγὰς κομίζειν ἀνέπεισεν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ Μακεδόνων ἔθαπτεν ἐν Μέμφει, οἷα δὲ ἐπιστάμενος πολεμήσοντα Περδίκκαν Αἴγυπτον εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ. Περδίκκας δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς στρατείας ἐπήγετο Ἀριδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ παῖδα Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ Ῥωξάνης τῆς Ὀξυάρτου γεγονότα καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπεβούλευεν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἐν

fell into neglect even before tradition failed. Wherefore it occurred to me to narrate their deeds also, and how the sovereignty of Egypt, of the Mysians and of the neighbouring peoples fell into the hands of their fathers.

[1]The Macedonians consider Ptolemy to be the son of Philip, the son of Amyntas, though putatively the son of Lagus, asserting that his mother was with child when she was married to Lagus by Philip. And among the distinguished acts of Ptolemy in Asia they mention that it was he who, of Alexander's companions, was foremost in succouring him when in danger among the Oxydracae. After the death of 323 B.C.
Alexander, by withstanding those who would have conferred all his empire upon Aridaeus, the son of Philip, he became chiefly responsible for the division of the various nations into the kingdoms. He crossed over to Egypt in person, and killed Cleomenes, whom Alexander had appointed satrap of that country, considering him a friend of Perdiccas, and therefore not faithful to himself; and the Macedonians who had been entrusted with the task of carrying the corpse of Alexander to Aegae, he persuaded to hand it over to him. And he proceeded to bury it with Macedonian rites in Memphis, but, knowing that Perdiccas would make war, he kept Egypt garrisoned. And Perdiccas took Aridaeus, son of Philip, and the boy Alexander, whom Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, had borne to Alexander, to lend colour to the campaign, but really he was plotting to take from

[1] The account which follows deals with the troubled period which came after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. The generals Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus and Cassander quarrelled over the division of the empire.

Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλείαν· ἐξωσθεὶς δὲ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔτι οὐχ ὁμοίως θαυμαζόμενος, διαβεβλημένος δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας,
4 ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ αὐτίκα ἐς τὰ πράγματα ὁ Περδίκκου θάνατος ἐπέστησε· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Σύρους καὶ Φοινίκην εἶλε, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φεύγοντα ὑπεδέξατο Σέλευκον τὸν Ἀντιόχου, καὶ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀμυνούμενος Ἀντίγονον. καὶ Κάσσανδρον τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Λυσίμαχον βασιλεύοντα ἐν Θράκῃ μετασχεῖν ἔπεισε τοῦ πολέμου, τὴν φυγὴν λέγων τὴν Σελεύκου καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον φοβερόν σφισιν
5 εἶναι πᾶσιν αὐξηθέντα. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τέως μὲν ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ πολέμου καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ παντάπασιν ἐθάρρει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπύθετο στρατεύειν Πτολεμαῖον ἀφεστηκότων Κυρηναίων, αὐτίκα Σύρους καὶ Φοίνικας εἶλεν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, παραδοὺς δὲ Δημητρίῳ τῷ παιδί, ἡλικίαν μὲν νέῳ φρονεῖν δὲ ἤδη δοκοῦντι, καταβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι[1] πάλιν ἦγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν, Δημήτριον ἀκούων ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου μάχῃ κεκρατῆσθαι· Δημήτριος δὲ οὔτε παντάπασιν ἐξειστήκει Πτολεμαίῳ τῆς χώρας καὶ τινας τῶν Λιγυπτίων λοχήσας διέφθειρεν οὐ πολλούς. τότε δὲ ἥκοντα Ἀντίγονον οὐχ ὑπομείνας Πτολεμαῖος ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον.
6 διελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος Δημήτριος πλεύσας ἐς Κύπρον Μενέλαον σατράπην Πτολεμαίου ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ αὖθις αὐτὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐπιβάντα ἐνίκησε· φυγόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον

[1] ἢ καταβῆναι, emended by Hitzig.

Ptolemy his kingdom in Egypt. But being expelled from Egypt, and having lost his reputation as a soldier, and being in other respects unpopular with the Macedonians, he was put to death by his body-guard. The death of Perdiccas immediately raised Ptolemy to power, who both reduced the Syrians and Phoenicia, and also welcomed Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who was in exile, having been expelled by Antigonus; he further himself prepared to attack Antigonus. He prevailed on Cassander, son of Antipater, and Lysimachus, who was king in Thrace, to join in the war, urging that Seleucus was in exile and that the growth of the power of Antigonus was dangerous to them all. For a time Antigonus prepared for war, and was by no means confident of the issue; but on learning that the revolt of Cyrene had called Ptolemy to Libya, he immediately reduced the Syrians and Phoenicians by a sudden inroad, handed them over to Demetrius, his son, a man who for all his youth had already a reputation for good sense, and went down to the Hellespont. But he led his army back without crossing, on hearing that Demetrius had been overcome by Ptolemy in battle. But Demetrius had not altogether evacuated the country before Ptolemy, and having surprised a body of Egyptians, killed a few of them. Then on the arrival of Antigonus Ptolemy did not wait for him but returned to Egypt. When the winter was over, Demetrius sailed to Cyprus and overcame in a naval action Menelaus, the satrap of Ptolemy, and afterwards Ptolemy himself, who had crossed to bring help. Ptolemy fled to

Ἀντίγονός τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐπολιόρκει Δημήτριος. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἐς πᾶν ἀφικόμενος κινδύνου διέσωσεν ὅμως τὴν ἀρχὴν στρατιᾷ τε ἀντικαθήμενος ἐπὶ Πηλουσίῳ καὶ τριήρεσιν ἀμυνόμενος ἅμα ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ἀντίγονος δὲ Αἴγυπτον μὲν αἱρήσειν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὐδεμίαν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐλπίδα, Δημήτριον δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥοδίους στρατιᾷ πολλῇ καὶ ναυσὶν ἔστειλεν, ὡς εἴ οἱ προσγένοιτο ἡ νῆσος ὁρμητηρίῳ χρήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐλπίζων· ἀλλὰ αὐτοί τε οἱ Ῥόδιοι τολμήματα καὶ ἐπιτεχνήσεις παρέσχοντο ἐς τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας καὶ Πτολεμαῖός σφισιν ἐς ὅσον δυνάμεως ἦκε συνήρατο
7 ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀντίγονος δὲ Ῥόδου τε ἀμαρτὼν καὶ Αἰγύπτου πρότερον, οὐ πολλῷ τούτων ὕστερον ἀντιτάξασθαι Λυσιμάχῳ τολμήσας καὶ Κασσάνδρῳ τε καὶ τῇ Σελεύκου στρατιᾷ, τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπώλεσε τὸ πολὺ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθανε ταλαιπωρήσας μάλιστα τῷ μήκει τοῦ πρὸς Εὐμένη πολέμου. τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν καθελόντων Ἀντίγονον ἀνοσιώτατον κρίνω γενέσθαι Κάσσανδρον, ὃς δι' Ἀντιγόνου τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἀνασωσάμενος πολεμήσων ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἄνδρα
8 εὐεργέτην. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου Πτολεμαῖος Σύρους τε αὖθις καὶ Κύπρον εἶλε, κατήγαγε δὲ καὶ Πύρρον ἐς τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα ἤπειρον· Κυρήνης δὲ ἀποστάσης Μάγας Βερενίκης υἱὸς Πτολεμαίῳ τότε συνοικούσης ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν εἶλε Κυρήνην.—εἰ δὲ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου παῖς ἦν, ἴστω τὸ ἐπιμανὲς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας κατὰ τὸν πατέρα κεκτημένος, ὃς Εὐρυδίκῃ τῇ Ἀντι-

Egypt, where he was besieged by Antigonus on land and by Demetrius with a fleet. In spite of his extreme peril Ptolemy saved his empire by making a stand with an army at Pelusium while offering resistance with warships from the river. Antigonus now abandoned all hope of reducing Egypt in the circumstances, and dispatched Demetrius against the Rhodians with a fleet and a large army, hoping, if the island were won, to use it as a base against the Egyptians. But the Rhodians displayed daring and ingenuity in the face of the besiegers, while Ptolemy helped them with all the forces he could muster. Antigonus thus failed to reduce Egypt or, later, Rhodes, and shortly afterwards he offered battle to Lysimachus, and to Cassander and the army of Seleucus, lost most of his forces, and was himself killed, having suffered most by reason of the length of the war with Eumenes. Of the kings who put down Antigonus I hold that the most wicked was Cassander, who although he had recovered the throne of Macedonia with the aid of Antigonus, nevertheless came to fight against a benefactor. After the death of Antigonus, Ptolemy again reduced the Syrians and Cyprus, and also restored Pyrrhus to Thesprotia on the mainland. Cyrene rebelled; but Magas, the son of Berenice (who was at this time married to Ptolemy) captured Cyrene in the fifth year of the rebellion. If this Ptolemy really was the son of Philip, son of Amyntas, he must have inherited from his father his passion for women, for, while wedded to Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, although he

πάτρου συνοικῶν ὄντων οἱ παίδων Βερενίκης ἐς ἔρωτα ἦλθεν, ἣν Ἀντίπατρος Εὐρυδίκῃ συνέπεμψεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐρασθεὶς παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὡς ἦν οἱ πλησίον ἡ τελευτή, Πτολεμαῖον ἀπέλιπεν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύειν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἡ φυλή, γεγονότα ἐκ Βερενίκης ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου θυγατρός.

VII. Οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρασθεὶς ἔγημεν αὐτήν, Μακεδόσιν οὐδαμῶς ποιῶν νομιζόμενα, Αἰγυπτίοις μέντοι ὧν ἦρχε. δεύτερα δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀργαῖον ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν οὗτος ὁ καταγαγὼν ἦν ἐκ Μέμφιδος· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν γεγονότα ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης, Κυπρίους ἀφιστάντα αἰσθόμενος. Μάγας δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὁμομήτριος Πτολεμαίου παρὰ Βερενίκης τῆς μητρὸς ἀξιωθεὶς ἐπιτροπεύειν Κυρήνην —ἐγεγόνει δὲ ἐκ Φιλίππου τῇ Βερενίκῃ Μακεδόνος μέν, ἄλλως δὲ ἀγνώστου καὶ ἑνὸς τοῦ δήμου—, τότε δὴ οὗτος ὁ Μάγας ἀποστήσας Πτολεμαίου
2 Κυρηναίους ἤλαυνεν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν τὴν ἐσβολὴν φραξάμενος ὑπέμενεν ἐπιόντας Κυρηναίους, Μάγᾳ δὲ ἀπαγγέλλεται καθ' ὁδὸν ἀφεστηκέναι Μαρμαρίδας· εἰσὶ δὲ Λιβύων οἱ Μαρμαρίδαι τῶν νομάδων. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἀπηλλάσσετο· Πτολεμαῖον δὲ ὡρμημένον διώκειν αἰτία τοιάδε ἐπέσχεν. ἡνίκα παρεσκευάζετο ἐπιόντα ἀμύνεσθαι Μάγαν, ξένους ἐπηγάγετο καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Γαλάτας ἐς τετρακισχιλίους· τούτους λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντας κατασχεῖν Αἴγυπτον, ἀνήγαγε σφᾶς ἐς νῆσον ἔρημον

had children he took a fancy to Berenice, whom Antipater had sent to Egypt with Eurydice. He fell in love with this woman and had children by her, and when his end drew near he left the kingdom of Egypt to Ptolemy (from whom the Athenians name their tribe) being the son of Berenice and not of the daughter of Antipater.

VII. This Ptolemy fell in love with Arsinoë, his full sister, and married her, violating herein Macedonian custom, but following that of his Egyptian subjects. Secondly he put to death his brother Argaeus, who was, it is said, plotting against him; and he it was who brought down from Memphis the corpse of Alexander. He put to death another brother also, son of Eurydice, on discovering that he was creating disaffection among the Cyprians. Then Magas, the half-brother of Ptolemy, who had been entrusted with the governorship of Cyrene by his mother Berenice—she had borne him to Philip, a Macedonian, but of no note and of lowly origin—induced the people of Cyrene to revolt from Ptolemy and marched against Egypt. Ptolemy fortified the entrance into Egypt and awaited the attack of the Cyrenians. But while on the march Magas was informed that the Marmaridae, a tribe of Libyan nomads, had revolted, and thereupon fell back upon Cyrene. Ptolemy resolved to pursue, but was checked owing to the following circumstance. When he was preparing to meet the attack of Magas, he engaged mercenaries, including some four thousand Gauls. Discovering that they were plotting to seize Egypt, he led

διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἀπώλοντο
3 ὑπό τε ἀλλήλων καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ· Μάγας δὲ ἤδη γυναῖκα ἔχων Ἀπάμην Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σελεύκου θυγατέρα, ἔπεισεν Ἀντίοχον παραβάντα ἃς ὁ πατὴρ οἱ Σέλευκος ἐποιήσατο συνθήκας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον, ἐλαύνειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ὡρμημένου δὲ Ἀντιόχου στρατεύειν, Πτολεμαῖος διέπεμψεν ἐς ἅπαντας ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντίοχος, τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενεστέροις λῃστὰς κατατρέχειν τὴν γῆν, οἳ δὲ ἦσαν δυνατώτεροι στρατιᾷ κατεῖργεν, ὥστε Ἀντιόχῳ μήποτε ἐγγενέσθαι στρατεύειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ πρότερον εἴρηταί μοι ὡς ναυτικὸν ἔστειλεν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν ἐπ' Ἀντίγονον καὶ Μακεδόνας· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν μέγα ἐγένετο ἐς σωτηρίαν Ἀθηναίοις. οἱ δέ οἱ παῖδες ἐγένοντο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης, οὐ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Λυσιμάχου δὲ θυγατρός· τὴν δέ οἱ συνοικήσασαν ἀδελφὴν κατέλαβεν ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα, καὶ νομός ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἀρσινοΐτης Αἰγυπτίοις.

VIII. Ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος δηλῶσαι καὶ τὰ ἐς Ἄτταλον ἔχοντα, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις. ἀνὴρ Μακεδὼν Δόκιμος ὄνομα, στρατηγὸς Ἀντιγόνου, Λυσιμάχῳ παραδοὺς ὕστερον αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, Φιλέταιρον Παφλαγόνα εἶχεν εὐνοῦχον. ὅσα μὲν δὴ Φιλεταίρῳ πεπραγμένα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασίν ἐστι τὴν ἀπὸ Λυσιμάχου καὶ ὡς Σέλευκον ἐπηγάγετο, ἔσται μοι τῶν ἐς Αυσίμαχον παρενθήκη· ὁ δὲ Ἄτταλος Ἀττάλου μὲν παῖς ὤν, ἀδελφιδοῦς δὲ[1] Φιλεταίρου, τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὐμένους παραδόντος ἔσχεν ἀνεψιοῦ.

[1] παῖς ἦν ἀδελφοῦ φιλεταίρῳ δὲ, emended by Clavier.

them through the river to a deserted island. There they perished at one another's hands or by famine. Magas, who was married to Apame, daughter of Antiochus, son of Seleucus, persuaded Antiochus to break the treaty which his father Seleucus had made with Ptolemy and to attack Egypt. When Antiochus resolved to attack, Ptolemy dispatched forces against all the subjects of Antiochus, free-booters to overrun the lands of the weaker, and an army to hold back the stronger, so that Antiochus never had an opportunity of attacking Egypt. I have already stated how this Ptolemy sent a fleet to help the Athenians against Antigonus and the Macedonians, but it did very little to save Athens. His children were by Arsinoë, not his sister, but the daughter of Lysimachus. His sister who had wedded him happened to die before this, leaving no issue, and there is in Egypt a district called Arsinoïtes after her.

VIII. It is pertinent to add here an account of Attalus, because he too is one of the Athenian *eponymoi*. A Macedonian of the name of Docimus, a general of Antigonus, who afterwards surrendered both himself and his property to Lysimachus, had a Paphlagonian eunuch called Philetaerus. All that Philetaerus did to further the revolt from Lysimachus, and how he won over Seleucus, will form an episode in my account of Lysimachus. Attalus, however, son of Attalus and nephew of Philetaerus, received the kingdom from his cousin Eumenes, who handed it

μέγιστον δέ ἐστίν οἱ τῶν ἔργων· Γαλάτας γὰρ ἐς
τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, ἀναφυγεῖν ἠνάγ-
κασεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.

2 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐστὶν ἀγάλ-
ματα θεῶν, Ἀμφιάραος καὶ Εἰρήνη φέρουσα
Πλοῦτον παῖδα. ἐνταῦθα Λυκοῦργός τε κεῖται
χαλκοῦς ὁ Λυκόφρονος καὶ Καλλίας, ὃς πρὸς
Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὡς Ἀθη-
ναίων οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἔπραξε τὴν εἰρήνην·
ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης, ὃν ἐς Καλαυρείαν Ἀθη-
ναῖοι τὴν πρὸ Τροιζῆνος νῆσον ἠνάγκασαν ἀπο-
χωρῆσαι, δεξάμενοι δὲ ὕστερον διώκουσιν αὖθις
3 μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λαμίᾳ πληγήν. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὡς
τὸ δεύτερον ἔφυγε, περαιοῦται καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν
Καλαυρείαν, ἔνθα δὴ πιὼν φάρμακον ἐτελεύτησεν·
φυγάδα τε Ἕλληνα μόνον τοῦτον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ
Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἀνήγαγεν Ἀρχίας. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίας
οὗτος Θούριος ὢν ἔργον ἤρατο ἀνόσιον· ὅσοι
Μακεδόσιν ἔπραξαν ἐναντία πρὶν ἢ τοῖς Ἕλλησι
τὸ πταῖσμα τὸ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ γενέσθαι, τούτους
ἦγεν Ἀρχίας Ἀντιπάτρῳ δώσοντας δίκην. Δη-
μοσθένει μὲν ἡ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἄγαν εὔνοια ἐς
τοῦτο ἐχώρησεν· εὖ δέ μοι λελέχθαι δοκεῖ ἄνδρα
ἀφειδῶς ἐκπεσόντα ἐς πολιτείαν καὶ πιστὰ ἡγη-
σάμενον τὰ τοῦ δήμου μήποτε καλῶς τελευτῆσαι.

4 Τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνος πλησίον
Ἄρεώς ἐστιν ἱερόν, ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν
Ἀφροδίτης κεῖται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐποίησεν
Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν ἀνὴρ Πάριος, ὄνομα
δὲ αὐτῷ Λόκρος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐνυοῦς ἄγαλμά
ἐστιν, ἐποίησαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Πραξιτέλους·

over. The greatest of his achievements was his forcing the Gauls to retire from the sea into the country which they still hold.

After the statues of the *eponymoi* come statues of gods, Amphiaraus, and Eirene (*Peace*) carrying the boy Plutus (*Wealth*). Here stands a bronze figure of Lycurgus,[1] son of Lycophron, and of Callias, who, as most of the Athenians say, brought about the peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes. Here also is Demosthenes, whom the Athenians forced to retire to Calauria, the island off Troezen, and then, after receiving him back, banished again after the disaster at Lamia. Exiled for the second time Demosthenes crossed once more to Calauria, and committed suicide there by taking poison, being the only Greek exile whom Archias failed to bring back to Antipater and the Macedonians. This Archias was a Thurian who undertook the abominable task of bringing to Antipater for punishment those who had opposed the Macedonians before the Greeks met with their defeat in Thessaly. Such was Demosthenes' reward for his great devotion to Athens. I heartily agree with the remark that no man who has unsparingly thrown himself into politics trusting in the loyalty of the democracy has ever met with a happy death. c. 448 B.C. 323 B.C.

Near the statue of Demosthenes is a sanctuary of Ares, where are placed two images of Aphrodite, one of Ares made by Alcamenes, and one of Athena made by a Parian of the name of Locrus. There is also an image of Enyo, made by the sons of Praxiteles.

[1] An Athenian orator who did great service to Athens when Demosthenes was trying to stir up his countrymen against Philip of Macedon.

περὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἑστᾶσιν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Θησεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀναδούμενος ταινίᾳ τὴν κόμην. ἀνδριάντες δὲ Καλάδης Ἀθηναίοις ὡς λέγεται νόμους γράψας καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε εὐρόμενος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπήνεσεν ᾆσμα ποιήσας. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἑστᾶσιν Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ κτείναντες Ἵππαρχον· αἰτία δὲ ἥτις ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὅντινα τρόπον ἔπραξαν, ἑτέροις ἐστὶν εἰρημένα. τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οἱ μέν εἰσι Κριτίου τέχνη, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαίους ἐποίησεν Ἀντήνωρ. Ξέρξου δέ, ὡς εἷλεν Ἀθήνας ἐκλιπόντων τὸ ἄστυ Ἀθηναίων, ἀπαγαγομένου καὶ τούτους ἅτε λάφυρα, κατέπεμψεν ὕστερον Ἀθηναίοις Ἀντίοχος.

6 Τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὁ καλοῦσιν Ὠιδεῖον ἀνδριάντες πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου βασιλέων εἰσὶν Αἰγυπτίων. ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοί σφισιν, ἄλλη δὲ ἐπίκλησις ἄλλῳ· καὶ γὰρ Φιλομήτορα καλοῦσι καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Λάγου Σωτῆρα παραδόντων Ῥοδίων τὸ ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ μὲν Φιλάδελφός ἐστιν οὗ καὶ πρότερον μνήμην ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις ἐποιησάμην, πλησίον δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρσινόης τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐστιν εἰκών. IX. ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ καλούμενος ὄγδοος μέν ἐστιν ἀπόγονος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, τὴν δὲ ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχεν ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ. οὐ γάρ τινα τῶν βασιλέων μισηθέντα ἴσμεν ἐς τοσόνδε ὑπὸ μητρός, ὃν πρεσβύτατον ὄντα τῶν παίδων ἡ μήτηρ οὐκ εἴα καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, πρότερον δὲ ἐς Κύπρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεμφθῆναι πράξασα· τῆς δὲ ἐς τὸν παῖδα τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δυσνοίας λέγουσιν ἄλλας τε αἰτίας καὶ ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν

About the temple stand images of Heracles, Theseus, Apollo binding his hair with a fillet, and statues of Calades,[1] who it is said framed laws[2] for the Athenians, and of Pindar, the statue being one of the rewards the Athenians gave him for praising them in an ode. Hard by stand statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who killed Hipparchus. The reason of this act and the method of its execution have been related by others; of the figures some were made by Critius, the old ones being the work of Antenor. When Xerxes took Athens after the Athenians had abandoned the city he took away these statues also among the spoils, but they were afterwards restored to the Athenians by Antiochus. 514 B.C. fl. c. 445 B.C.

Before the entrance of the theatre which they call the Odeum (*Music Hall*) are statues of Egyptian kings. They are all alike called Ptolemy, but each has his own surname. For they call one Philometor, and another Philadelphus, while the son of Lagus is called Soter, a name given him by the Rhodians. Of these, Philadelphus is he whom I have mentioned before among the *eponymoi*, and near him is a statue of his sister Arsinoë. IX. The one called Philometor is eighth in descent from Ptolemy son of Lagus, and his surname was given him in sarcastic mockery, for we know of none of the kings who was so hated by his mother. Although he was the eldest of her children she would not allow him to be called to the throne, but prevailed on his father before the call came to send him to Cyprus. Among the reasons assigned for Cleopatra's enmity towards her son is her expectation

[1] Nothing more is known of this person.
[2] Or "tunes."

νεώτερον τῶν παίδων κατήκοον ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον ἤλπιζε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἑλέσθαι βασιλέα Ἀλέξ-
2 ανδρον ἔπειθεν Αἰγυπτίους· ἐναντιουμένου δέ οἱ τοῦ πλήθους, δεύτερα ἐς τὴν Κύπρον ἔστειλεν Ἀλέξανδρον, στρατηγὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ δι' αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίῳ θέλουσα εἶναι φοβερώτερα, τέλος δὲ κατατρώσασα οὓς μάλιστα τῶν εὐνούχων ἐνόμιζεν εὔνους, ἐπήγετο σφᾶς ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ὡς αὐτή τε ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους τοιαῦτα ὑπ' ἐκείνου παθόντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ὥρμησαν μὲν ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντες τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὡς δὲ σφᾶς ἔφθασεν ἐπιβὰς νεώς, Ἀλέξανδρον ἥκοντα ἐκ Κύπρου ποιοῦνται
3 βασιλέα. Κλεοπάτραν δὲ περιῆλθεν ἡ δίκη τῆς Πτολεμαίου φυγῆς ἀποθανοῦσαν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃν αὐτὴ βασιλεύειν ἔπραξεν Αἰγυπτίων. τοῦ δὲ ἔργου φωραθέντος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβῳ τῶν πολιτῶν φεύγοντος, οὕτω Πτολεμαῖος κατῆλθε καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔσχεν Αἴγυπτον· καὶ Θηβαίοις ἐπολέμησεν ἀποστᾶσι, παραστησάμενος δὲ ἔτει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐκάκωσεν, ὡς μηδὲ ὑπόμνημα λειφθῆναι Θηβαίοις τῆς ποτε εὐδαιμονίας προελθούσης ἐς τοσοῦτον ὡς ὑπερβαλέσθαι πλούτῳ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων πολυχρημάτους, τό τε ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀρχομενίους. Πτολεμαῖον μὲν οὖν ὀλίγῳ τούτων ὕστερον ἐπέλαβε μοῖρα ἡ καθήκουσα· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθόντες εὖ πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἐξηγήσεως χαλκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ Βερενίκην ἀνέθηκαν, ἣ μόνη γνησία οἱ τῶν παίδων ἦν.
4 Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους Φίλιππός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου κεῖνται· τούτοις μείζονα

that Alexander the younger of her sons would prove more subservient, and this consideration induced her to urge the Egyptians to choose Alexander as king. When the people offered opposition, she dispatched Alexander for the second time to Cyprus, ostensibly as general, but really because she wished by his means to make Ptolemy more afraid of her. Finally she covered with wounds those eunuchs she thought best disposed, and presented them to the people, making out that she was the victim of Ptolemy's machinations, and that he had treated the eunuchs in such a fashion. The people of Alexandria rushed to kill Ptolemy, and when he escaped on board a ship, made Alexander, who returned from Cyprus, their king. Retribution for the exile of Ptolemy came upon Cleopatra, for she was put to death by Alexander, whom she herself had made to be king of the Egyptians. When the deed was discovered, and Alexander fled in fear of the citizens, Ptolemy returned and for the second time assumed control of Egypt. He made war against the Thebans, who had revolted, reduced them two years after the revolt, and treated them so cruelly that they were left not even a memorial of their former prosperity, which had so grown that they surpassed in wealth the richest of the Greeks, the sanctuary of Delphi and the Orchomenians. Shortly after this Ptolemy met with his appointed fate, and the Athenians, who had been benefited by him in many ways which I need not stop to relate, set up a bronze likeness of him and of Berenice, his only legitimate child.

After the Egyptians come statues of Philip and of his son Alexander. The events of their lives were too

ὑπῆρχέ πως ἢ ἄλλου πάρεργα εἶναι λόγου. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τιμῇ τε ἀληθεῖ καὶ εὐεργέταις οὖσι γεγόνασιν αἱ δωρεαί, Φιλίππῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κολακείᾳ μᾶλλον ἐς αὐτοὺς τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λυσίμαχον οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ τοσοῦτον ὡς ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρήσιμον νομίζοντες ἀνέθηκαν.

5 Ὁ δὲ Λυσίμαχος οὗτος γένος τε ἦν Μακεδὼν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυφόρος, ὃν Ἀλέξανδρός ποτε ὑπ' ὀργῆς λέοντι ὁμοῦ καθείρξας ἐς οἴκημα κεκρατηκότα εὗρε τοῦ θηρίου· τά τε οὖν ἄλλα ἤδη διετέλει θαυμάζων καὶ Μακεδόνων ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Θρᾳκῶν ἐβασίλευεν ὁ Λυσίμαχος τῶν προσοίκων Μακεδόσιν, ὅσων ἦρχεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Φίλιππος· εἶεν δ' ἂν οὗτοι τοῦ Θρᾳκίου μοῖρα οὐ μεγάλη. Θρᾳκῶν δὲ τῶν πάντων οὐδένες πλείους εἰσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ Κελτοὶ πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐν ἀντεξετάζοντι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδείς πω πρότερος Θρᾷκας Ῥωμαίων κατεστρέψατο ἀθρόους· Ῥωμαίοις δὲ Θρᾴκη τε πᾶσά ἐστιν ὑποχείριος, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσον μὲν ἀχρεῖον νομίζουσι διά τε ὑπερβάλλον ψῦχος καὶ γῆς φαυλότητα, ἑκουσίως παρῶπταί σφισι, τὰ δὲ
6 ἀξιόκτητα ἔχουσι καὶ τούτων. τότε δὲ ὁ Λυσίμαχος πρώτοις τῶν περιοίκων ἐπολέμησεν Ὀδρύσαις, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ Δρομιχαίτην καὶ Γέτας ἐστράτευσεν· οἷα δὲ ἀνδράσι συμβαλὼν οὐκ ἀπείροις πολέμων, ἀριθμῷ δὲ καὶ πολὺ ὑπερβεβληκόσιν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἐλθὼν κινδύνου διέφυγεν, ὁ δέ οἱ παῖς Ἀγαθοκλῆς συστρατευόμενος τότε πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Γετῶν ἑάλω. Λυσί-

important to form a mere digression in another story. Now the Egyptians had their honours bestowed upon them out of genuine respect and because they were benefactors, but it was rather the sycophancy of the people that gave them to Philip and Alexander, since they set up a statue to Lysimachus also not so much out of goodwill as because they thought to serve their immediate ends.

This Lysimachus was a Macedonian by birth and one of Alexander's body-guards, whom Alexander once in anger shut up in a chamber with a lion, and afterwards found that he had overpowered the brute. Henceforth he always treated him with respect, and honoured him as much as the noblest Macedonians. After the death of Alexander, Lysimachus ruled such of the Thracians, who are neighbours of the Macedonians, as had been under the sway of Alexander and before him of Philip. These would comprise but a small part of Thrace. If race be compared with race no nation of men except the Celts are more numerous than the Thracians taken all together, and for this reason no one before the Romans reduced the whole Thracian population. But the Romans have subdued all Thrace, and they also hold such Celtic territory as is worth possessing, but they have intentionally overlooked the parts that they consider useless through excessive cold or barrenness. Then Lysimachus made war against his neighbours, first the Odrysae, secondly the Getae and Dromichaetes. Engaging with men not unversed in warfare and far his superiors in number, he himself escaped from a position of extreme danger, but his son Agathocles, who was serving with him then for the first time, was taken prisoner by the Getae.

μαχος δὲ καὶ ὕστερον προσπταίσας μάχαις καὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ ποιούμενος συνέθετο πρὸς Δρομιχαίτην εἰρήνην, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ τὰ πέραν Ἴστρου παρεὶς τῷ Γέτῃ καὶ θυγατέρα συνοικίσας ἀνάγκῃ τὸ πλέον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ Ἀγαθοκλέα, Λυσίμαχον δὲ αὐτὸν ἁλῶναι λέγουσιν, ἀνασωθῆναι δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέους τὰ πρὸς τὸν Γέτην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξαντος. ὡς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν, Ἀγαθοκλεῖ Λυσάνδραν γυναῖκα ἠγάγετο, Πτολεμαίου τε τοῦ Λάγου καὶ Εὐρυδίκης
7 οὖσαν. διέβη δὲ καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀντιγόνου συγκαθεῖλε. συνῴκισε δὲ καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἄχρι θαλάσσης τὴν νῦν πόλιν, ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν Λεβεδίους τε οἰκήτορας καὶ Κολοφωνίους, τὰς δὲ ἐκείνων ἀνελὼν πόλεις, ὡς Φοίνικα ἰάμβων ποιητὴν Κολοφωνίων θρηνῆσαι τὴν ἅλωσιν. Ἑρμησιάναξ δὲ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα γράψας οὐκέτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν περιῆν· πάντως γάρ που καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐπὶ ἁλούσῃ Κολοφῶνι ᾠδύρατο. Λυσίμαχος δὲ καὶ ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς Πύρρον κατέστη τὸν Αἰακίδου· φυλάξας δὲ ἐξ Ἠπείρου ἀπιόντα, οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκεῖνος ἐπλανᾶτο, τήν τε ἄλλην ἐλεηλάτησεν Ἤπειρον καὶ ἐπὶ
8 τὰς θήκας ἦλθε τῶν βασιλέων. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐμοί ἐστιν οὐ πιστά, Ἱερώνυμος δὲ ἔγραψε Καρδιανὸς Λυσίμαχον τὰς θήκας τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνελόντα τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐκρῖψαι. ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος οὗτος ἔχει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως δόξαν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν γράψαι τῶν βασιλέων πλὴν Ἀντιγόνου, τούτῳ δὲ οὐ δικαίως χαρίζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν παντάπασίν ἐστι φανερὸς ἐπηρεία συνθείς, ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα θήκας νεκρῶν ἀνελεῖν. χωρὶς δὲ

Lysimachus met with other reverses afterwards, and attaching great importance to the capture of his son made peace with Dromichaetes, yielding to the Getic king the parts of his empire beyond the Ister, and, chiefly under compulsion, giving him his daughter in marriage. Others say that not Agathocles but Lysimachus himself was taken prisoner, regaining his liberty when Agathocles treated with the Getic king on his behalf. On his return he married to Agathocles Lysandra, the daughter of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and of Eurydice. He also crossed with a 302 B.C. fleet to Asia and helped to overthrow the empire of Antigonus. He founded also the modern city of Ephesus as far as the coast, bringing to it as settlers people of Lebedos and Colophon, after destroying their cities, so that the iambic poet Phoenix composed a lament for the capture of Colophon. Hermesianax, the elegiac writer, was, I think, no longer living, otherwise he too would certainly have been moved by the taking of Colophon to write a dirge. Lysimachus also went to war with Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides. Waiting for his departure from Epeirus (Pyrrhus was of a very roving disposition) he ravaged Epeirus until he reached the royal tombs. The next part of the story is incredible to me, but Hieronymus fl. 320–300 B.C. the Cardian relates that he destroyed the tombs and cast out the bones of the dead. But this Hieronymus has a reputation generally of being biassed against all the kings except Antigonus, and of being unfairly partial towards him. As to the treatment of the Epeirot graves, it is perfectly plain that it was malice that made him record that a Macedonian desecrated the tombs of the dead. Besides, Lysimachus was

ἠπίστατο δή που καὶ Λυσίμαχος οὐ Πύρρου σφᾶς προγόνους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ὄντας· καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἠπειρώτης τε ἦν καὶ τῶν Αἰακιδῶν τὰ πρὸς μητρός, ἥ τε ὕστερον Πύρρου πρὸς Λυσίμαχον συμμαχία δηλοῖ καὶ πολεμήσασιν ἀδιάλλακτόν γε οὐδὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι σφίσι. τῷ δὲ Ἱερωνύμῳ τάχα μέν που καὶ ἄλλα ἦν ἐς Λυσίμαχον ἐγκλήματα, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι τὴν Καρδιανῶν πόλιν ἀνελὼν Λυσιμάχειαν ἀντ' αὐτῆς ᾤκισεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Θρᾳκίας χερρονήσου.

X. Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Ἀριδαίου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ὕστερον Κασσάνδρου καὶ τῶν παίδων φιλία διέμεινε πρὸς Μακεδόνας· περιελθούσης δὲ ἐς Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη Λυσίμαχος πολεμήσεσθαι ἤλπιζεν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ἠξίου πολέμου, πατρῷον ἐπιστάμενος ὂν Δημητρίῳ προσπεριβάλλεσθαί τι ἐθέλειν καὶ ἅμα ὁρῶν αὐτὸν παρελθόντα ἐς Μακεδονίαν μετάπεμπτον ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Κασσάνδρου, ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο, αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον φονεύσαντα καὶ ἔχοντα ἀντ' ἐκείνου τὴν
2 Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν. τούτων ἕνεκα Δημητρίῳ συμβαλὼν πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει παρ' ὀλίγον μὲν ἦλθεν ἐκπεσεῖν Θρᾴκης, ἀμύναντος δέ οἱ Πύρρου τήν τε Θρᾴκην κατέσχε καὶ ὕστερον ἐπῆρξε Νεστίων καὶ Μακεδόνων· τὸ δὲ πολὺ Μακεδονίας αὐτὸς Πύρρος κατεῖχε, δυνάμει τε ἥκων ἐξ Ἠπείρου καὶ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔχων ἐπιτηδείως. Δημητρίου δὲ διαβάντος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Σελεύκῳ πολεμοῦντος, ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἀντεῖχε τὰ Δημητρίου, διέμεινεν ἡ Πύρρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου

surely aware that they were the ancestors not of Pyrrhus only but also of Alexander. In fact Alexander was an Epeirot and an Acacid on his mother's side, and the subsequent alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus proves that even as enemies they were not irreconcilable. Possibly Hieronymus had grievances against Lysimachus, especially his destroying the city of the Cardians and founding Lysimachea in its stead on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus.

X. As long as Aridaeus reigned, and after him Cassander and his sons, friendly relations continued between Lysimachus and Macedon. But when the kingdom devolved upon Demetrius, son of Antigonus, Lysimachus, henceforth expecting that war would be declared upon him by Demetrius, resolved to take aggressive action. He was aware that Demetrius inherited a tendency to aggrandise, and he also knew that he visited Macedonia at the summons of Alexander and Cassander, and on his arrival murdered 294 B.C. Alexander himself and ruled the Macedonians in his stead. Therefore encountering Demetrius at Amphipolis he came near to being expelled from Thrace, but 288 B.C. on Pyrrhus' coming to his aid he mastered Thrace and afterwards extended his empire at the expense of the Nestians and Macedonians. The greater part of Macedonia was under the control of Pyrrhus himself, who came from Epeirus with an army and was at that time on friendly terms with Lysimachus. When however Demetrius crossed over into Asia and made war on Seleucus, the alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus lasted only as long as

συμμαχία· γενομένου δὲ ἐπὶ Σελεύκῳ Δημητρίου Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ Πύρρῳ διελύθη ἡ φιλία, καὶ καταστάντων ἐς πόλεμον Λυσίμαχος Ἀντιγόνῳ τε τῷ Δημητρίου καὶ αὐτῷ Πύρρῳ πολεμήσας ἐκράτησε παρὰ πολὺ καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἔσχεν, ἀναχωρῆσαι Πύρρον βιασάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἤπειρον.
3 εἰώθασι δὲ ἀνθρώποις φύεσθαι δι' ἔρωτα πολλαὶ συμφοραί. Λυσίμαχος γὰρ ἡλικίᾳ τε ἤδη προήκων καὶ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτός τε νομιζόμενος εὐδαίμων καὶ Ἀγαθοκλεῖ παίδων ὄντων ἐκ Λυσάνδρας Ἀρσινόην ἔγημεν ἀδελφὴν Λυσάνδρας. ταύτην τὴν Ἀρσινόην φοβουμένην ἐπὶ τοῖς παισί, μὴ Λυσιμάχου τελευτήσαντος ἐπ' Ἀγαθοκλεῖ γένωνται, τούτων ἕνεκα Ἀγαθοκλεῖ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι λέγεται. ἤδη δὲ ἔγραψαν καὶ ὡς Ἀγαθοκλέους ἀφίκοιτο ἐς ἔρωτα ἡ Ἀρσινόη, ἀποτυγχάνουσα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ[1] βουλεῦσαι λέγουσιν Ἀγαθοκλεῖ θάνατον. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς Λυσίμαχος αἴσθοιτο ὕστερον τὰ τολμηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, εἶναι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι οἱ πλέον ἠρημωμένῳ φίλων ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον.
4 ὡς γὰρ δὴ τότε ὁ Λυσίμαχος ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα Ἀρσινόῃ παρῆκε, Λυσάνδρα παρὰ Σέλευκον ἐκδιδράσκει τούς τε παῖδας ἅμα ἀγομένη καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς αὐτῆς, οἳ[2] περιελθὸν τοῦτο ἐς Πτολεμαῖον καταφεύγουσι. τούτοις ἐκδιδράσκουσι παρὰ Σέλευκον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἠκολούθησεν, υἱὸς μὲν Λυσιμάχου, γεγονὼς δὲ ἐξ Ὀδρυσιάδος γυναικός. οὗτοί τε οὖν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀναβεβηκότες ἱκέτευον Σέλευκον ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς Λυσίμαχον καταστῆναι· καὶ Φιλέταιρος ἅμα, ᾧ τὰ χρήματα ἐπετέτραπτο Λυσιμάχου, τῇ τε

[1] ἔπειτα? [2] Text corrupt.

Demetrius continued hostilities; when Demetrius submitted to Seleucus, the friendship between Lysimachus and Pyrrhus was broken, and when war broke out Lysimachus fought against Antigonus son of Demetrius and against Pyrrhus himself, had much the better of the struggle, conquered Macedonia and forced Pyrrhus to retreat to Epeirus. Love is wont to bring many calamities upon men. Lysimachus, although by this time of mature age and considered happy in respect of his children, and although Agathocles had children by Lysandra, nevertheless married Lysandra's sister Arsinoë. This Arsinoë, fearing for her children, lest on the death of Lysimachus they should fall into the hands of Agathocles, is said for this reason to have plotted against Agathocles. Historians have already related how Arsinoë fell in love with Agathocles, and being unsuccessful they say that she plotted against his life. They say also that Lysimachus discovered later his wife's machinations, but was by this time powerless, having lost all his friends. Since Lysimachus, then, overlooked Arsinoë's murder of Agathocles, Lysandra fled to Seleucus, taking with her her children and her brothers, who were taking refuge with Ptolemy and finally adopted this course. They were accompanied on their flight to Seleucus by Alexander who was the son of Lysimachus by an Odrysian woman. So they going up to Babylon entreated Seleucus to make war on Lysimachus. And at the same time Philetaerus, to whom the property of Lysimachus had

Ἀγαθοκλέους τελευτῇ χαλεπῶς φέρων καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς Ἀρσινόης ὕποπτα ἡγούμενος καταλαμβάνει Πέργαμον τὴν ὑπὲρ Καΐκου, πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα τά τε χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίδου Σελεύκῳ. Λυσίμαχος δὲ ταῦτα πάντα πυνθανόμενος ἔφθη διαβὰς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄρξας αὐτὸς πολέμου συμβαλών τε Σελεύκῳ παρὰ πολύ τε ἐκρατήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθανεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὃς ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς Ὀδρυσίδος ἐγεγόνει οἱ, πολλὰ Λυσάνδραν παραιτησάμενος ἀναιρεῖταί τε καὶ ὕστερον τούτων ἐς Χερρόνησον κομίσας ἔθαψεν, ἔνθα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστίν οἱ φανερὸς ὁ τάφος Καρδίας τε μεταξὺ κώμης καὶ Πακτύης.

XI. Τὰ μὲν οὖν Λυσιμάχου τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστι καὶ Πύρρου. οὗτος ὁ Πύρρος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσῆκεν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα κατὰ γένος· Αἰακίδου γὰρ τοῦ Ἀρύββου Πύρρος ἦν, Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς Νεοπτολέμου, Νεοπτολέμῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀρύββᾳ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀλκέτας ὁ Θαρύπου. ἀπὸ δὲ Θαρύπου ἐς Πύρρον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως πέντε ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέκα εἰσὶ γενεαί· πρῶτος γὰρ δὴ οὗτος ἁλούσης Ἰλίου τὴν μὲν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ὑπερεῖδεν ἀναχώρησιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἤπειρον κατάρας ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλένου χρησμῶν ᾤκησε. καὶ οἱ παῖς ἐκ μὲν Ἑρμιόνης ἐγένετο οὐδείς, ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης δὲ Μολοσσὸς καὶ Πίελος καὶ νεώτατος ὁ Πέργαμος. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἑλένῳ Κεστρῖνος· τούτῳ γὰρ Ἀνδρομάχη συνῴκησεν ἀποθανόντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Πύρρου. Ἑλένου δὲ ὡς ἐτελεύτα Μολοσσῷ τῷ Πύρρου παραδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν Κεστρῖνος μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν Ἠπειρωτῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ Θύαμιν ποταμὸν χώραν ἔσχε, Πέρ-

been entrusted, aggrieved at the death of Agathocles and suspicious of the treatment he would receive at the hands of Arsinoë, seized Pergamus on the Caïcus, and sending a herald offered both the property and himself to Seleucus. Lysimachus hearing of all these things lost no time in crossing into Asia, and 281 B.C. assuming the initiative met Seleucus, suffered a severe defeat and was killed. Alexander, his son by the Odrysian woman, after interceding long with Lysandra, won his body and afterwards carried it to the Chersonesus and buried it, where his grave is still to be seen between the village of Cardia and Pactye.

XI. Such was the history of Lysimachus. The Athenians have also a statue of Pyrrhus. This Pyrrhus was not related to Alexander, except by ancestry. Pyrrhus was son of Aeacides, son of Arybbas, but Alexander was son of Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, and the father of Neoptolemus and Arybbas was Alcetas, son of Tharypus. And from Tharypus to Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, are fifteen generations. Now Pyrrhus was the first who after the capture of Troy disdained to return to Thessaly, but sailing to Epeirus dwelt there because of the oracles of Helenus. By Hermione Pyrrhus had no child, but by Andromache he had Molossus, Pielus, and Pergamus, who was the youngest. Helenus also had a son, Cestrinus, being married to Andromache after the murder of Pyrrhus at Delphi. Helenus on his death passed on the kingdom to Molossus, son of Pyrrhus, so that Cestrinus with volunteers from the Epeirots took possession of the region beyond the river Thyamis, while Pergamus

γαμος δὲ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἄρειον δυναστεύοντα ἐν τῇ Τευθρανίᾳ κτείνει μονομαχήσαντά οἱ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἔδωκε τὸ νῦν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης—ἠκολούθει γάρ οἱ—καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ἡρῷον ἐν τῇ πόλει. Πίελος δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινεν ἐν Ἠπείρῳ, καὶ ἐς πρόγονον τοῦτον ἀνέβαινε Πύρρος τε ὁ Αἰακίδου καὶ οἱ
3 πατέρες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Μολοσσόν. ἦν δὲ ἄχρι μὲν Ἀλκέτου τοῦ Θαρύπου ἐφ' ἑνὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ Ἠπειρωτῶν· οἱ δὲ Ἀλκέτου παῖδες, ὥς σφισι στασιάσασι μετέδοξεν ἐπ' ἴσης ἄρχειν, αὐτοί τε πιστῶς ἔχοντες διέμειναν ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου τελευτήσαντος ἐν Λευκανοῖς, Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ διὰ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου φόβον ἐπανελθούσης ἐς Ἤπειρον, Αἰακίδης ὁ Ἀρύββου τά τε ἄλλα διετέλει κατήκοος ὢν Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ συνεστράτευσε πολεμήσων Ἀριδαίῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν, οὐκ ἐθελόντων ἕπεσθαι τῶν
4 Ἠπειρωτῶν. Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ ὡς ἐπεκράτησεν ἀνόσια μὲν ἐργασαμένης καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀριδαίου θάνατον, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι ἀνοσιώτερα ἐς ἄνδρας Μακεδόνας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνάξια ὕστερον ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παθεῖν νομισθείσης, Αἰακίδην κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔχθος ἐδέχοντο Ἠπειρῶται, εὑρομένου δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον παρὰ τούτων συγγνώμην δεύτερα ἠναντιοῦτο Κάσσανδρος μὴ κατελθεῖν ἐς Ἤπειρον. γενομένης δὲ Φιλίππου τε ἀδελφοῦ Κασσάνδρου καὶ Αἰακίδου μάχης πρὸς Οἰνιάδαις, Αἰακίδην μὲν τρωθέντα κατέλαβε μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸ χρεών·
5 Ἠπειρῶται δὲ Ἀλκέταν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατεδέξαντο, Ἀρύββου μὲν παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὸν Αἰακί-

crossed into Asia and killed Areius, despot in Teuthrania, who fought with him in single combat for his kingdom, and gave his name to the city which is still called after him. To Andromache, who accompanied him, there is still a shrine in the city. Pielus remained behind in Epeirus, and to him as ancestor Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides, and his fathers traced their descent, and not to Molossus. Down to Alcetas, son of Tharypus, Epeirus too was under one king. But the sons of Alcetas after a quarrel agreed to rule with equal authority, remaining faithful to their compact; and afterwards, when Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, died among the Leucani, and Olympias returned to Epeirus through fear of Antipater, Aeacides, son of Arybbas, continued in allegiance to Olympias and joined in her campaign against Aridaeus and the Macedonians, although the Epeirots refused to accompany him. Olympias on her victory behaved wickedly in the matter of the death of Aridaeus, and much more wickedly to certain Macedonians, and for this reason was considered to have deserved her subsequent treatment at the hands of Cassander; so Aeacides at first was not received even by the Epeirots because of their hatred of Olympias, and when afterwards they forgave him, his return to Epeirus was next opposed by Cassander. When a battle occurred at Oeneadae between Philip, brother of Cassander, and Aeacides, Aeacides was wounded and shortly after met his fate. The Epeirots accepted Alcetas as their king, being the son of Arybbas and the elder brother 313 B.C.

δου πρεσβύτερον, ἀκρατῆ δὲ ἄλλως θυμοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐξελασθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. καὶ τότε ἥκων ἐξεμαίνετο εὐθὺς ἐς τοὺς Ἠπειρώτας, ἐς ὃ νύκτωρ αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπαναστάντες ἔκτειναν. ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοῦτον Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου κατάγουσιν· ἥκοντι δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπεστράτευε Κάσσανδρος, νέῳ τε ἡλικίᾳ ὄντι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ κατεσκευασμένῳ βεβαίως. Πύρρος δὲ ἐπιόντων Μακεδόνων ἐς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἀναβαίνει τὸν Λάγου· καί οἱ Πτολεμαῖος γυναῖκά τ' ἔδωκεν ἀδελφὴν ὁμομητρίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων καὶ στόλῳ κατήγαγεν Αἰγυπτίων.

6 Πύρρος δὲ βασιλεύσας πρώτοις ἐπέθετο Ἑλλήνων Κορκυραίοις, κειμένην τε ὁρῶν τὴν νῆσον πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας καὶ ἄλλοις ὁρμητήριον ἐφ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐθέλων εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ἁλοῦσαν Κόρκυραν ὅσα μὲν Λυσιμάχῳ πολεμήσας ἔπαθε καὶ ὡς Δημήτριον ἐκβαλὼν Μακεδονίας ἦρξεν ἐς ὃ αὖθις ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου, τάδε μὲν τοῦ Πύρρου μέγιστα ἐς ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν δεδήλωκεν ἤδη μοι
7 τὰ ἐς Λυσίμαχον ἔχοντα· Ῥωμαίοις δὲ οὐδένα Πύρρου πρότερον πολεμήσαντα ἴσμεν Ἕλληνα. Διομήδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀργείων τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν ἔτι γενέσθαι πρὸς Αἰνείαν λέγεται μάχην· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐλπίσασι καὶ Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν καταστρέψασθαι τὸ ἐν Συρακούσαις πταῖσμα ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο μὴ καὶ Ῥωμαίων λαβεῖν πεῖραν· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Νεοπτολέμου, γένους τε ὢν Πύρρῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ πρεσβύτερος, ἀποθανὼν ἐν Λευκανοῖς ἔφθη πρὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν Ῥωμαίοις. XII. οὕτω Πύρρος ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῆς

of Aeacides, but of an uncontrollable temper and on this account banished by his father. Immediately on his arrival he began to vent his fury on the Epeirots, until they rose up and put him and his children to death at night. After killing him they brought back Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides. No sooner had he arrived than Cassander made war upon him, while he was young in years and before he had consolidated his empire. When the Macedonians attacked him, Pyrrhus went to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, in Egypt. Ptolemy gave him to wife the half-sister of his children, and restored him by an Egyptian force.

The first Greeks that Pyrrhus attacked on becoming king were the Corcyraeans. He saw that the island lay off his own territory, and he did not wish others to have a base from which to attack him. My account of Lysimachus has already related how he fared, after taking Corcyra, in his war with Lysimachus, how he expelled Demetrius and ruled Macedonia until he was in turn expelled by Lysimachus, the most important of his achievements until he waged war against the Romans, being the first Greek we know of to do so. For no further battle, it is said, took place between Aeneas and Diomedes with his Argives. One of the many ambitions of the Athenians was to reduce all Italy, but the disaster at 413 B.C.
Syracuse prevented their trying conclusions with the Romans. Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, of the same family as Pyrrhus but older, died among the Leucani before he could meet the Romans in battle.
XII. So Pyrrhus was the first to cross the Ionian 280 B.C.

πέραν Ἰονίου διαβὰς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους· διέβη δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐπαγαγομένων Ταραντίνων. τούτοις γὰρ πρότερον ἔτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνειστήκει πόλεμος· ἀδύνατοι δὲ κατὰ σφᾶς ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν, προϋπαρχούσης μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίας, ὅτι οἱ πολεμοῦντι τὸν πρὸς Κόρκυραν πόλεμον ναυσὶ συνήραντο, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Ταραντίνων ἀνέπεισαν τὸν Πύρρον, τήν τε Ἰταλίαν διδάσκοντες ὡς εὐδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀντὶ πάσης εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον αὐτῷ παραπέμψαι σφᾶς φίλους τε καὶ ἱκέτας ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἥκοντας. ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν πρέσβεων μνήμη τὸν Πύρρον τῆς ἁλώσεως ἐσῆλθε τῆς Ἰλίου, καί οἱ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἤλπιζε χωρήσειν πολεμοῦντι· στρατεύειν γὰρ ἐπὶ Τρωων ἀποίκους
2 Ἀχιλλέως ὧν ἀπόγονος. ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἤρεσκε —διέμελλε γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ὧν ἔλοιτο—, αὐτίκα ναῦς τε ἐπλήρου μακρὰς καὶ πλοῖα στρογγύλα εὐτρέπιζεν ἵππους καὶ ἄνδρας ὁπλίτας ἄγειν. ἔστι δὲ ἀνδράσι βιβλία οὐκ ἐπιφανέσιν ἐς συγγραφήν, ἔχοντα ἐπίγραμμα ἔργων ὑπομνήματα εἶναι. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένῳ μοι μάλιστα ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι Πύρρου τόλμαν τε, ἣν μαχόμενος αὐτὸς παρείχετο, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ μέλλουσιν ἀγῶσι πρόνοιαν· ὃς καὶ τότε περαιούμενος ναυσὶν ἐς Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαίους ἐλελήθει καὶ ἥκων οὐκ εὐθὺς ἦν σφισι φανερός, γινομένης δὲ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Ταραντίνους συμβολῆς τότε δὴ πρῶτον ἐπιφαίνεται σὺν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα
3 σφίσι προσπεσών, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐτάραξεν. ἅτε δὲ ἄριστα ἐπιστάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἀξιόμαχος εἴη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας

Sea from Greece to attack the Romans. And even he crossed on the invitation of the Tarentines. For they were already involved in a war with the Romans, but were no match for them unaided. Pyrrhus was already in their debt, because they had sent a fleet to help him in his war with Corcyra, but the most cogent arguments of the Tarentine envoys were their accounts of Italy, how its prosperity was equal to that of the whole of Greece, and their plea that it was wicked to dismiss them when they had come as friends and suppliants in their hour of need. When the envoys urged these considerations, Pyrrhus remembered the capture of Troy, which he took to be an omen of his success in the war, as he was a descendant of Achilles making war upon a colony of Trojans. Pleased with this proposal, and being a man who never lost time when once he had made up his mind, he immediately proceeded to man warships and to prepare transports to carry horses and men-at-arms. There are books written by men of no renown as historians, entitled "Memoirs." When I read these I marvelled greatly both at the personal bravery of Pyrrhus in battle, and also at the forethought he displayed whenever a contest was imminent. So on this occasion also when crossing to Italy with a fleet he eluded the observation of the Romans, and for some time after his arrival they were unaware of his presence; it was only when the Romans made an attack upon the Tarentines that he appeared on the scene with his army, and his unexpected assault naturally threw his enemies into confusion. And being perfectly aware that he was no match for the Romans, he prepared to let loose against them his elephants.

ἐπαφήσων σφίσιν. ἐλέφαντας δὲ πρῶτος μὲν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκτήσατο Πῶρον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καθελὼν τὴν Ἰνδῶν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πλείστους ἔσχεν Ἀντίγονος, Πύρρῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐγεγόνει τῆς πρὸς Δημήτριον τὰ θηρία αἰχμάλωτα· τότε δὲ ἐπιφανέντων αὐτῶν δεῖμα ἔλαβε Ῥωμαίους ἄλλο τι καὶ οὐ ζῷα εἶναι
4 νομίσαντας. ἐλέφαντα γάρ, ὅσος μὲν ἐς ἔργα καὶ ἀνδρῶν χεῖρας, εἰσὶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ δῆλοι πάντες εἰδότες· αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ θηρία, πρὶν ἢ διαβῆναι Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οὐδὲ ἑωράκεσαν ἀρχὴν πλὴν Ἰνδῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ὅσοι πλησιόχωροι τούτοις. δηλοῖ δὲ Ὅμηρος, ὃς βασιλεῦσι κλίνας μὲν καὶ οἰκίας τοῖς εὐδαιμονεστέροις αὐτῶν ἐλέφαντι ἐποίησε κεκοσμημένας, θηρίου δὲ ἐλέφαντος μνήμην οὐδεμίαν ἐποιήσατο· θεασάμενος δὲ ἢ πεπυσμένος ἐμνημόνευσεν ἂν
5 πολύ γε πρότερον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἢ Πυγμαίων τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεράνων μάχης. Πύρρον δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπήγαγε πρεσβεία Συρακουσίων· Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ διαβάντες τὰς Ἑλληνίδας τῶν πόλεων ἐποίουν ἀναστάτους, ἡ δὲ ἦν λοιπή, Συρακούσαις πολιορκοῦντες προσεκάθηντο. ἃ τῶν πρέσβεων Πύρρος ἀκούων Τάραντα μὲν εἶα καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχοντας Ἰταλιωτῶν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν διαβὰς Καρχηδονίους ἠνάγκασεν ἀπαναστῆναι Συρακουσῶν. φρονήσας δὲ ἐφ' αὑτῷ Καρχηδονίων, οἳ θαλάσσης τῶν τότε βαρβάρων μάλιστα εἶχον ἐμπείρως Τύριοι Φοίνικες τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες,

The first European to acquire elephants was Alexander, after subduing Porus and the power of the Indians; after his death others of the kings got them, but Antigonus more than any; Pyrrhus captured his beasts in the battle with Demetrius. When on this occasion they came in sight the Romans were seized with panic, and did not believe they were animals. For although the use of ivory in arts and crafts all men obviously have known from of old, the actual beasts, before the Macedonians crossed into Asia, nobody had seen at all except the Indians themselves, the Libyans, and their neighbours. This is proved by Homer, who describes the couches and houses of the more prosperous kings as ornamented with ivory, but never mentions the beast; but if he had seen or heard about it he would, in my opinion, have been much more likely to speak of it than of the battle between the Dwarf-men and cranes.[1] Pyrrhus was brought over to Sicily by an embassy of the Syracusans. The Carthaginians had crossed over and were destroying the Greek cities, and had sat down to invest Syracuse, the only one now remaining. When Pyrrhus heard this from the envoys he abandoned Tarentum and the Italiots on the coast, and crossing into Sicily forced the Carthaginians to raise the siege of Syracuse. In his self-conceit, although the Carthaginians, being Phoenicians of Tyre by ancient descent, were more experienced seamen than any other non-Greek people of that day, Pyrrhus was nevertheless encouraged to meet them

[1] *Iliad*, iii. 3 f.

τούτων ἐναντία ἐπήρθη ναυμαχῆσαι τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις χρώμενος, οἳ μηδὲ ἁλοῦσης Ἰλίου θάλασσαν οἱ πολλοὶ μηδὲ ἁλσὶν ἠπίσταντό πω χρῆσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὁμήρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ·

οἳ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν
ἀνέρες, οὐδέ θ' ἅλεσσι μεμιγμένον εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν.

XIII. τότε δὲ ὁ Πύρρος, ὡς ἡττήθη, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Τάραντα ἀνήγετο ταῖς λοιπαῖς· ἐνταῦθα προσέπταισε μεγάλως καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν—οὐ γὰρ ἀμαχεὶ Ῥωμαίους ἠπίστατο ἀφήσοντας—πορίζεται τρόπον τοῦτον. ὡς ἐπανήκων ἐκ Σικελίας ἡττήθη, πρῶτον διέπεμπε γράμματα ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, τοὺς μὲν στρατιὰν τῶν βασιλέων, τοὺς δὲ χρήματα, Ἀντίγονον δὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα αἰτῶν· ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὥς οἱ γράμματα ἀπεδόθη, συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῶν τε ἐξ Ἠπείρου καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων, ὧν μὲν εἶχε τὰ βιβλία ἀνεγίνωσκεν οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ ἤξειν συμμαχίαν ἔλεγε. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἦλθε φήμη Μακεδόνας καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη περαιοῦσθαι τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ἐς τὴν Πύρρου βοήθειαν· Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες ἡσύχαζον, Πύρρος δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν περαιοῦται νύκτα πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρῶν, ἃ Κεραύνια ὀνομάζουσι.

2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πληγὴν ἀναπαύσας τὴν δύναμιν προεῖπεν Ἀντιγόνῳ πόλεμον, ἄλλα τε ποιούμενος ἐγκλήματα καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐς Ἰταλίαν βοηθείας διαμαρτίαν. κρατήσας δὲ τήν τε ἰδίαν παρασκευὴν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν ξενικὸν ἐδίωξεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ

in a naval battle, employing the Epeirots, the majority of whom, even after the capture of Troy, knew nothing of the sea nor even as yet how to use salt. Witness the words of Homer in the *Odyssey*[1] :—

"Nothing they know of ocean, and mix not salt with their victuals."

XIII. Worsted on this occasion Pyrrhus put back with the remainder of his vessels to Tarentum. Here he met with a serious reverse, and his retirement, for he knew that the Romans would not let him depart without striking a blow, he contrived in the following manner. On his return from Sicily and his defeat, he first sent various dispatches to Asia and to Antigonus, asking some of the kings for troops, some for money, and Antigonus for both. When the envoys returned and their dispatches were delivered, he summoned those in authority, whether Epeirot or Tarentine, and without reading any of the dispatches declared that reinforcements would come. A report spread quickly even to the Romans that Macedonians and Asiatic tribes also were crossing to the aid of Pyrrhus. The Romans, on hearing this, made no move, but Pyrrhus on the approach of that very night crossed to the headlands of the mountains called Ceraunian.

After the defeat in Italy Pyrrhus gave his forces a rest and then declared war on Antigonus, his chief ground of complaint being the failure to send reinforcements to Italy. Overpowering the native troops of Antigonus and his Gallic mercenaries he pursued

[1] *Odyssey*, xi. 122.

πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ Μακεδονίας τε τῆς ἄνω καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐπεκράτησε. δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μάχης καὶ τὴν Πύρρου νίκην, ὡς παρὰ πολὺ γένοιτο, τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὅπλα τῶν Κελτῶν ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰτωνίας Φερῶν μεταξὺ καὶ Λαρίσης καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς·

Τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἰτωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθάνᾳ
3 Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν,
πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν. οὐ μέγα θαῦμα·
αἰχματαὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Λιακίδαι.

τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα, τῷ δὲ ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνέθηκεν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσπίδας. ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ καὶ ταύταις·

Αἵδε ποτ' Ἀσίδα γαῖαν ἐπόρθησαν πολύχρυσον,
αἵδε καὶ Ἕλλασιν δουλοσύναν ἔπορον.
νῦν δὲ Διὸς ναῷ ποτὶ κίονας ὀρφαναὶ κεῖται
τᾶς μεγαλαυχήτω σκῦλα Μακεδονίας.

Πύρρῳ δὲ Μακεδόνας ἐς ἅπαν μὴ καταστρέψα-
4 σθαι παρ' ὀλίγον ὅμως ἥκοντι ἐγένετο Κλεώνυμος αἴτιος, ἑτοιμοτέρῳ καὶ ἄλλως ὄντι ἑλέσθαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν. Κλεώνυμος δὲ οὗτος, ὁ τὸν Πύρρον ἀπολιπόντα τὰ Μακεδόνων πείσας ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθεῖν, Λακεδαιμόνιος ὢν Λακεδαιμονίοις στρατὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν πολέμιον ἐπῆγε δι' αἰτίαν, ἣν ἐγὼ τοῦ γένους ὕστερον τοῦ Κλεωνύμου δηλώσω. Παυσανίου τοῦ περὶ Πλάταιαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν

them to the coast cities, and himself reduced upper Macedonia and the Thessalians. The extent of the fighting and the decisive character of the victory of Pyrrhus are shown best by the Celtic armour dedicated in the sanctuary of Itonian Athena between Pherae and Larisa, with this inscription on them :—

> "Pyrrhus the Molossian hung these shields taken from the bold Gauls as a gift to Itonian Athena, when he had destroyed all the host of Antigonus. 'Tis no great marvel. The Aeacidae are warriors now, even as they were of old."

These shields then are here, but the bucklers of the Macedonians themselves he dedicated to Dodonian Zeus. They too have an inscription :—

> "These once ravaged golden Asia, and brought slavery upon the Greeks. Now ownerless they lie by the pillars of the temple of Zeus, spoils of boastful Macedonia."

Pyrrhus came very near to reducing Macedonia entirely, but, being usually readier to do what came first to hand, he was prevented by Cleonymus. This Cleonymus, who persuaded Pyrrhus to abandon his Macedonian adventure and to go to the Peloponnesus, was a Lacedaemonian who led an hostile army into the Lacedaemonian territory for a reason which I will relate after giving the descent of Cleonymus. Pausanias, who was in command of the 479 B.C.

ἡγησαμένου Πλειστοάναξ υἱὸς ἐγένετο, τοῦ δὲ Παυσανίας, τοῦ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος, ὃς ἐναντία Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ καὶ Θηβαίοις μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν ἐν Λεύκτροις· Κλεομβρότου δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἦν καὶ Κλεομένης, Ἀγησιπόλιδος δὲ ἄπαιδος τελευ-
5 τήσαντος Κλεομένης τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε. Κλεομένει δὲ παῖδες γίνονται πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀκρότατος, νεώτερος δὲ Κλεώνυμος. Ἀκρότατον μὲν οὖν πρότερον κατέλαβεν ἡ τελευτή· Κλεομένους δὲ ἀποθανόντος ὕστερον ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν κατέστη περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου, καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ μετελθὼν ἐπάγει Πύρρον ἐς τὴν χώραν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ πρὸ μὲν τοῦ ἐν Λεύκτροις οὐδὲν ἐγεγόνει πταῖσμα, ὥστε οὐδὲ συνεχώρουν ἀγῶνί πω κεκρατῆσθαι πεζῷ· Λεωνίδᾳ μὲν γὰρ νικῶντι οὐκ ἔφασαν τοὺς ἑπομένους ἐς τελέαν ἐξαρκέσαι φθορὰν τῶν Μήδων, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δημοσθένους ἔργον πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ Σφακτηρίᾳ κλοπὴν εἶναι πολέμου καὶ οὐ νίκην.
6 πρώτης δὲ γενομένης σφίσι συμφορᾶς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, ὕστερον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι μεγάλως προσέπταισαν· τρίτος δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου πόλεμος κακὸν ἀνέλπιστον ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. Πύρρου δὲ ἐσβαλόντος τέταρτον δὴ τότε στρατὸν ὁρῶντες πολέμιον αὐτοί τε παρετάσσοντο καὶ Ἀργείων ἥκοντες καὶ Μεσσηνίων σύμμαχοι· Πύρρος δὲ ὡς ἐπεκράτησεν, ὀλίγου μὲν ἦλθεν ἑλεῖν αὐτοβοεὶ τὴν πόλιν, δηώσας δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ λείαν ἐλάσας μικρὸν ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ ἐς πολιορκίαν εὐτρεπίζοντο, πρότερον ἔτι τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Δημήτριον τάφροις τε βαθείαις καὶ σταυροῖς τετειχισμένης ἰσχυροῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐπιμαχώ-

Greeks at Plataea, was the father of Pleistoanax, he of Pausanias, and he of Cleombrotus, who was killed at Leuctra fighting against Epaminondas and the Thebans. Cleombrotus was the father of Agesipolis and Cleomenes, and, Agesipolis dying without issue, Cleomenes ascended the throne. Cleomenes had two sons, the elder being Acrotatus and the younger Cleonymus. Now Acrotatus died first; and when afterwards Cleomenes died, a claim to the throne was put forward by Areus son of Acrotatus, and Cleonymus took steps to induce Pyrrhus to enter the country. Before the battle of Leuctra the Lacedaemonians 371 B.C.
had suffered no disaster, so that they even refused to admit that they had yet been worsted in a land battle. For Leonidas, they said, had won the vic- 480 B.C.
tory, but his followers were insufficient for the entire destruction of the Persians; the achievement of Demosthenes and the Athenians on the island 425 B.C.
of Sphacteria was no victory, but only a trick in war. Their first reverse took place in Boeotia, and they afterwards suffered a severe defeat at the 330 B.C.
hands of Antipater and the Macedonians. Thirdly the war with Demetrius came as an unexpected 295 B.C.
misfortune to their land. Invaded by Pyrrhus and seeing a hostile army for the fourth time, they arrayed themselves to meet it along with the Argives and Messenians who had come as their allies. Pyrrhus won the day, and came near to capturing 272 B.C.
Sparta without further fighting, but desisted for a while after ravaging the land and carrying off plunder. The citizens prepared for a siege, and Sparta even before this in the war with Demetrius had been fortified with deep trenches and strong stakes, and at

7 τατα καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ τριβὴν Ἀντίγονος τὰς πόλεις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνασωσάμενος ἠπείγετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἷα ἐπιστάμενος Πύρρον, ἣν Λακεδαίμονα καταστρέψηται καὶ Πελοποννήσου τὰ πολλά, οὐκ ἐς Ἤπειρον ἀλλ' ἐπί τε Μακεδονίαν αὖθις καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἥξοντα· μέλλοντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἄργους ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄγειν, αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἐληλύθει Πύρρος. κρατῶν δὲ καὶ τότε συνεσπίπτει τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν
8 πόλιν καί οἱ διαλύεται κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἡ τάξις· μαχομένων δὲ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἤδη καὶ οἰκίαις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο ἄλλων τῆς πόλεως, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πύρρος ἐμονώθη καὶ τιτρώσκεται τὴν κεφαλήν. κεράμῳ δὲ βληθέντα ὑπὸ γυναικὸς τεθνάναι φασὶ Πύρρον· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκα τὴν ἀποκτείνασαν, Δήμητρα δέ φασιν εἶναι γυναικὶ εἰκασμένην. ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Πύρρου τελευτὴν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐξηγητὴς Λυκέας ἐν ἔπεσιν εἴρηκε· καί σφισιν ἔστι τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος, ἔνθα ὁ Πύρρος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἱερὸν Δήμητρος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ
9 Πύρρος τέθαπται. θαῦμα δὴ ποιοῦμαι τῶν καλουμένων Αἰακιδῶν τρισὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτήν, εἴ γε Ἀχιλλέα μὲν Ὅμηρος ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου φησὶ τοῦ Πριάμου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπολέσθαι, Πύρρον δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποκτεῖναι Δελφοῖς, τῷ δὲ Αἰακίδου συνέβη τὰ ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν οἷα Ἀργεῖοί τε λέγουσι καὶ Λυκέας ἐποίησε.

the most vulnerable points with buildings as well. Just about this time, while the Laconian war was dragging on, Antigonus, having recovered the Macedonian cities, hastened to the Peloponnesus, being well aware that if Pyrrhus were to reduce Lacedaemon and the greater part of the Peloponnesus, he would not return to Epeirus but to Macedonia to make war there again. When Antigonus was about to lead his army from Argos into Laconia, Pyrrhus himself reached Argos. Victorious once more he dashed into the city along with the fugitives, and his formation not unnaturally was broken up. When the fighting was now taking place by sanctuaries and houses, and in the narrow lanes, between detached bodies in different parts of the town, Pyrrhus left by himself was wounded in the head. It is said that his death was 272 B.C. caused by a blow from a tile thrown by a woman. The Argives however declare that it was not a woman who killed him but Demeter in the likeness of a woman. This is what the Argives themselves relate about his end, and Lyceas, the guide for the neighbourhood, has written a poem which confirms the story. They have a sanctuary of Demeter, built at the command of the oracle, on the spot where Pyrrhus died, and in it Pyrrhus is buried. I consider it remarkable that of those styled Aeacidae three met their end by similar heaven-sent means; if, as Homer says, Achilles was killed by Alexander, son of Priam, and by Apollo, if the Delphians were bidden by the Pythia to slay Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, and if the end of the son of Aeacides was such as the Argives say and

διάφορα δὲ ὅμως ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα ὧν Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Καρδιανὸς ἔγραψεν· ἀνδρὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖ συνόντα ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐς χάριν συγγράφειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Φίλιστος αἰτίαν δικαίαν εἴληφεν, ἐπελπίζων τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις κάθοδον, ἀποκρύψασθαι τῶν Διονυσίου τὰ ἀνοσιώτατα, ἢ που πολλή γε Ἱερωνύμῳ συγγνώμη τὰ ἐς ἡδονὴν Ἀντιγόνου γράφειν.

XIV. Ἡ μὲν Ἠπειρωτῶν ἀκμὴ κατέστρεψεν ἐς τοῦτο· ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὠιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κεῖται θέας ἄξιος. πλησίον δέ ἐστι κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον, οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου· φρέατα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεώς ἐστι, πηγὴ δὲ αὕτη μόνη. ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποίηται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ὁποῖα λέγεται γράψω, παρὲς ὁπόσον ἐς Δηιόπην
2 ἔχει τοῦ λόγου. Ἑλλήνων οἱ μάλιστα ἀμφισβητοῦντες Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ἀρχαιότητα καὶ δῶρα, ἃ παρὰ θεῶν φασὶν ἔχειν, εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι, καθάπερ βαρβάρων Φρυξὶν Αἰγύπτιοι. λέγεται οὖν ὡς Δήμητρα ἐς Ἄργος ἐλθοῦσαν Πελασγὸς δέξαιτο οἴκῳ καὶ ὡς Χρυσανθὶς τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ἐπισταμένη τῆς Κόρης διηγήσαιτο· ὕστερον δὲ Τροχίλον ἱεροφάντην φυγόντα ἐξ Ἄργους κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀγήνορος ἐλθεῖν φασιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ γυναῖκά τε ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος γῆμαι καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Εὐβουλέα καὶ Τριπτόλεμον. ὅδε μὲν Ἀργείων ἐστὶ λόγος· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι παρὰ τούτοις . . . ἴσασι Τριπτόλεμον τὸν Κελεοῦ
3 πρῶτον σπεῖραι καρπὸν ἥμερον. ἔπη δὲ ᾄδεται

Lyceas has described in his poem. The account, however, given by Hieronymus the Cardian is different, for a man who associates with royalty cannot help being a partial historian. If Philistus was justified in suppressing the most wicked deeds of Dionysius, because he expected his return to Syracuse, surely Hieronymus may be fully forgiven for writing to please Antigonus.

XIV. So ended the period of Epeirot ascendancy. When you have entered the Odeum at Athens you meet, among other objects, a figure of Dionysus worth seeing. Hard by is a spring called Enneacrunos (*Nine Jets*), embellished as you see it by Peisistratus. There are cisterns all over the city, but this is the only fountain. Above the spring are two temples, one to Demeter and the Maid, while in that of Triptolemus is a statue of him. The accounts given of Triptolemus I shall write, omitting from the story as much as relates to Deiope. The Greeks who dispute most the Athenian claim to antiquity and the gifts they say they have received from the gods are the Argives, just as among those who are not Greeks the Egyptians compete with the Phrygians. It is said, then, that when Demeter came to Argos she was received by Pelasgus into his home, and that Chrysanthis, knowing about the rape of the Maid, related the story to her. Afterwards Trochilus, the priest of the mysteries, fled, they say, from Argos because of the enmity of Agenor, came to Attica and married a woman of Eleusis, by whom he had two children, Eubuleus and Triptolemus. That is the account given by the Argives. But the Athenians and those who with them . . . know that Triptolemus, son of Celeus, was the first to sow seed for cultivation. Some extant verses of Musaeus, if indeed they are

Μουσαίου μέν, εἰ δὴ Μουσαίου καὶ ταῦτα, Τριπτόλεμον παῖδα Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γῆς εἶναι, Ὀρφέως δέ, οὐδὲ ταῦτα Ὀρφέως ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα, Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ Τριπτολέμῳ Δυσαύλην πατέρα εἶναι, μηνύσασι δέ σφισι περὶ τῆς παιδὸς δοθῆναι παρὰ Δήμητρος σπεῖραι τοὺς καρπούς· Χοιρίλῳ δὲ Ἀθηναίῳ δρᾶμα ποιήσαντι Ἀλόπην ἔστιν εἰρημένα Κερκυόνα εἶναι καὶ Τριπτόλεμον ἀδελφούς, τεκεῖν δὲ σφᾶς θυγατέρα Ἀμφικτύονος, εἶναι δὲ πατέρα Τριπτολέμῳ μὲν Ῥάρον, Κερκυόνι δὲ Ποσειδῶνα. πρόσω δὲ ἰέναι με ὡρμημένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὁπόσα ἐξήγησιν[1] ἔχει τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἱερόν, καλούμενον δὲ Ἐλευσίνιον, ἐπέσχεν ὄψις ὀνείρατος· ἃ δὲ ἐς πάντας 4 ὅσιον γράφειν, ἐς ταῦτα ἀποτρέψομαι. πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄγαλμα, ἔστι βοῦς χαλκοῦς οἷα ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος, πεποίηται δὲ καθήμενος Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσσιος, ὃν ἐλθόντα ἐς ἀγρὸν κοιμᾶσθαι λέγουσιν ἐσελθόντα ἐς σπήλαιον· ὁ δὲ ὕπνος οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἢ οἱ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γενέσθαι καθεύδοντι, καὶ ὕστερον ἔπη τε ἐποίει καὶ πόλεις ἐκάθηρεν ἄλλας τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων. Θάλης δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν νόσον παύσας οὔτε ἄλλως προσήκων οὔτε πόλεως ἦν Ἐπιμενίδη τῆς αὐτῆς· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κνώσσιος, Θάλητα δὲ εἶναί φησι Γορτύνιον Πολύμναστος Κολοφώνιος 5 ἔπη Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐς αὐτὸν ποιήσας. — ἔτι δὲ ἀπωτέρω ναὸς Εὐκλείας, ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μήδων, οἳ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον. φρονῆσαι δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα

[1] Text corrupt. ἐς ἐξήγησιν ὁπόσων Hitzig.

to be included among his works, say that Triptolemus was the son of Oceanus and Earth; while those ascribed to Orpheus (though in my opinion the received authorship is again incorrect) say that Eubuleus and Triptolemus were sons of Dysaules, and that because they gave Demeter information about her daughter the sowing of seed was her reward to them. But Choerilus, an Athenian, who wrote a play called *Alope*, says that Cercyon and Triptolemus were brothers, that their mother was the daughter of Amphictyon, while the father of Triptolemus was Rarus, of Cercyon, Poseidon. After I had intended to go further into this story, and to describe the contents of the sanctuary at Athens, called the Eleusinium, I was stayed by a vision in a dream. I shall therefore turn to those things it is lawful to write of to all men. In front of this temple, where is also the statue of Triptolemus, is a bronze bull being led as it were to sacrifice, and there is a sitting figure of Epimenides of Cnossus, who they say entered a cave in the country and slept. And the sleep did not leave him before the fortieth year, and afterwards he wrote verses and purified Athens and other cities. But Thales who stayed the plague for the Lacedaemonians was not related to Epimenides in any way, and belonged to a different city. The latter was from Cnossus, but Thales was from Gortyn, according to Polymnastus of Colophon, who composed a poem about him for the Lacedaemonians. Still farther off is a temple to Glory, this too being a thank-offering for the victory over the Persians, who had landed at Marathon. This is the victory of which I am of opinion the Athenians were

fl. c. 600 B.C.

εἰκάζω· καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰσχύλος, ὡς οἱ τοῦ βίου προσεδοκᾶτο ἡ τελευτή, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόνευσεν οὐδενός, δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἦκων ἐπὶ ποιήσει καὶ πρὸ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσας· ὁ δὲ τό τε ὄνομα πατρόθεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψε καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀνδρίας μάρτυρας ἔχοι τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἄλσος καὶ Μήδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας.

6 Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην Βασίλειον ναός ἐστιν Ἡφαίστου. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄγαλμά οἱ παρέστηκεν Ἀθηνᾶς, οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐποιούμην τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίῳ ἐπιστάμενος λόγον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὁρῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς γλαυκοὺς ἔχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς Λιβύων τὸν μῦθον ὄντα εὕρισκον· τούτοις γάρ ἐστιν εἰρημένον Ποσειδῶνος καὶ λίμνης Τριτωνίδος θυγατέρα εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γλαυκοὺς εἶναι ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι
7 τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. πλησίον δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας. πρώτοις δὲ ἀνθρώπων Ἀσσυρίοις κατέστη σέβεσθαι τὴν Οὐρανίαν, μετὰ δὲ Ἀσσυρίους Κυπρίων Παφίοις καὶ Φοινίκων τοῖς Ἀσκάλωνα ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, παρὰ δὲ Φοινίκων Κυθήριοι μαθόντες σέβουσιν· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ κατεστήσατο Αἰγεύς, αὐτῷ τε οὐκ εἶναι παῖδας νομίζων—οὐ γάρ πω τότε ἦσαν—καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς γενέσθαι τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκ μηνίματος τῆς Οὐρανίας. τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι ἄγαλμα λίθου Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Φειδίου· δῆμος δέ ἐστιν Ἀθηναίοις Ἀθμονέων, οἳ Πορφυρίωνα ἔτι πρότερον Ἀκταίου βασιλεύσαντα τῆς Οὐρανίας φασὶ τὸ παρὰ σφίσιν ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι. λέγουσι δὲ ἀνὰ

proudest; while Aeschylus, who had won such renown for his poetry and for his share in the naval battles before Artemisium and at Salamis, recorded at the prospect of death nothing else, and merely wrote his name, his father's name, and the name of his city, and added that he had witnesses to his valour in the grove at Marathon and in the Persians who landed there.

Above the Cerameicus and the portico called the King's Portico is a temple of Hephaestus. I was not surprised that by it stands a statue of Athena, because I knew the story about Erichthonius. But when I saw that the statue of Athena had blue eyes I found out that the legend about them is Libyan. For the Libyans have a saying that the Goddess is the daughter of Poseidon and Lake Tritonis, and for this reason has blue eyes like Poseidon. Hard by is a sanctuary of the Heavenly Aphrodite; the first men to establish her cult were the Assyrians, after the Assyrians the Paphians of Cyprus and the Phoenicians who live at Ascalon in Palestine; the Phoenicians taught her worship to the people of Cythera. Among the Athenians the cult was established by Aegeus, who thought that he was childless (he had, in fact, no children at the time) and that his sisters had suffered their misfortune because of the wrath of Heavenly Aphrodite. The statue still extant is of Parian marble and is the work of Pheidias. One of the Athenian parishes is that of the Athmoneis, who say that Porphyrion, an earlier king than Actaeus, founded their sanctuary of the Heavenly One. But

τοὺς δήμους καὶ ἄλλα οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες.

XV. Ἰοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοάν, ἣν Ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλη πλησίον· ἔπεστι δέ οἱ τρόπαιον Ἀθηναίων ἱππομαχίᾳ κρατησάντων Πλείσταρχον, ὃς τῆς ἵππου Κασσάνδρου καὶ τοῦ ξενικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφὸς ὢν ἐπετέτραπτο. αὕτη δὲ ἡ στοὰ πρῶτα μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἔχει τεταγμένους ἐν Οἰνόῃ τῆς Ἀργείας ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων· γέγραπται δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἀκμὴν ἀγῶνος οὐδὲ τολμημάτων ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τὸ ἔργον ἤδη προῆκον, ἀλλὰ ἀρχομένη τε ἡ μάχη
2 καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἔτι συνιόντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τοίχων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θησεὺς Ἀμαζόσι μάχονται. μόναις δὲ ἄρα ταῖς γυναιξὶν οὐκ ἀφῄρει τὰ πταίσματα τὸ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδές, εἴ γε Θεμισκύρας τε ἁλούσης ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους καὶ ὕστερον φθαρείσης σφίσι τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἣν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἔστειλαν, ὅμως ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθον Ἀθηναίοις τε αὐτοῖς μαχούμεναι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν Ἕλληνές εἰσιν ἥρηκότες Ἴλιον καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἠθροισμένοι διὰ τὸ Αἴαντος ἐς Κασσάνδραν τόλμημα· καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γραφὴ τὸν Αἴαντα ἔχει καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν αἰχ-
3 μαλώτων ἄλλας τε καὶ Κασσάνδραν. τελευταῖον δὲ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσιν οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθῶνι· Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσον ἦν Ἀττικὸν ἴασιν ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ταύτῃ μέν ἐστιν ἴσα τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον· τὸ δὲ ἔσω τῆς μάχης φεύγοντές εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἕλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους,

the traditions current among the parishes often differ altogether from those of the city.

XV. As you go to the portico which they call Painted, because of its pictures, there is a bronze statue of Hermes of the Market-place, and near it a gate. On it is a trophy erected by the Athenians, who in a cavalry action overcame Pleistarchus, to whose command his brother Cassander had entrusted his cavalry and mercenaries. This Portico contains, first, the Athenians arrayed against the Lacedaemonians at Oenoë in the Argive territory.[1] What is depicted is not the crisis of the battle nor when the action had advanced as far as the display of deeds of valour, but the beginning of the fight when the combatants were about to close. On the middle wall are the Athenians and Theseus fighting with the Amazons. So, it seems, only the women did not lose through their defeats their reckless courage in the face of danger; Themiscyra was taken by Heracles, and afterwards the army which they dispatched to Athens was destroyed, but nevertheless they came to Troy to fight all the Greeks as well as the Athenians themselves. After the Amazons come the Greeks when they have taken Troy, and the kings assembled on account of the outrage committed by Ajax against Cassandra. The picture includes Ajax himself, Cassandra and other captive women. At the end of the painting are those who fought at Marathon; the Boeotians of Plataea and the Attic contingent are coming to blows with the foreigners. In this place neither side has the better, but the centre of the fighting shows the foreigners in flight and pushing one another into the morass, while at the end of the

[1] Date unknown.

ἔσχαται δὲ τῆς γραφῆς νῆές τε αἱ Φοίνισσαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας φονεύοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθὼν γεγραμμένος ἐστὶν ἥρως, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδίον ὠνόμασται, καὶ Θησεὺς ἀνιόντι ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος Ἀθηνᾷ τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς· Μαραθωνίοις γάρ, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομίσθη θεὸς πρώτοις. τῶν μαχομένων δὲ δῆλοι μάλιστά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Καλλίμαχός τε, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις πολεμαρχεῖν ἤρητο, καὶ Μιλτιάδης τῶν στρατηγούντων, ἥρως τε Ἔχετλος καλούμενος, οὗ καὶ
4 ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην. ἐνταῦθα ἀσπίδες κεῖνται χαλκαῖ, καὶ ταῖς μέν ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα ἀπὸ Σκιωναίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων εἶναι, τὰς δὲ ἐπαληλιμμένας πίσσῃ, μὴ σφᾶς ὅ τε χρόνος λυμήνηται καὶ ὁ ἰός, Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι λέγεται τῶν ἁλόντων ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ.

XVI. Ἀνδριάντες δὲ χαλκοῖ κεῖνται πρὸ μὲν τῆς στοᾶς Σόλων ὁ τοὺς νόμους Ἀθηναίοις γράψας, ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Σέλευκος, ᾧ καὶ πρότερον ἐγένετο ἐς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν μέλλουσαν σημεῖα οὐκ ἀφανῆ. Σελεύκῳ γάρ, ὡς ὥρμᾶτο ἐκ Μακεδονίας σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, θύοντι ἐν Πέλλῃ τῷ Διὶ τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ κείμενα προύβη τε αὐτόματα πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἄνευ πυρὸς ἥφθη. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Σέλευκος Ἀντίγονον ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφικόμενον δείσας καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον φυγὼν τὸν Λάγου κατῆλθεν αὖθις ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐκράτησε μὲν τῆς Ἀντιγόνου στρατιᾶς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀντίγονον, εἶλε δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσαντα
2 ὕστερον Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου. ὡς δέ οἱ

painting are the Phoenician ships, and the Greeks killing the foreigners who are scrambling into them. Here is also a portrait of the hero Marathon, after whom the plain is named, of Theseus represented as coming up from the under-world, of Athena and of Heracles. The Marathonians, according to their own account, were the first to regard Heracles as a god. Of the fighters the most conspicuous figures in the painting are Callimachus, who had been elected commander-in-chief by the Athenians, Miltiades, one of the generals, and a hero called Echetlus, of whom I shall make mention later. Here are dedicated brazen shields, and some have an inscription that they are taken from the Scioneans and their allies, while 421 B.C. others, smeared with pitch lest they should be worn by age and rust, are said to be those of the Lacedaemonians who were taken prisoners in the island 425 B.C. of Sphacteria.

XVI. Here are placed bronze statues, one, in front of the Portico, of Solon, who composed the laws 594 B.C. for the Athenians, and, a little farther away, one of Seleucus, whose future prosperity was foreshadowed by unmistakable signs. When he was about to set forth from Macedonia with Alexander, and was sacrificing at Pella to Zeus, the wood that lay on the altar advanced of its own accord to the image and caught fire without the application of a light. On the death of Alexander, Seleucus, in fear of Antigonus, who had arrived at Babylon, fled to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and then returned again to Babylon. On his return he overcame the army of Antigonus and killed Antigonus himself, afterwards capturing Demetrius, son of Antigonus, who had advanced with an army. After these successes, which were shortly fol-

ταῦτα προκεχωρήκει καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ Λυσιμάχου κατείργαστο, τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν παρέδωκεν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδί, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἠπείγετο. στρατιὰ μὲν καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἦν παρὰ Σελεύκῳ· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἀδελφὸς μὲν Λυσάνδρας καὶ παρὰ Λυσιμάχου παρ' αὐτὸν πεφευγώς, ἄλλως δὲ τολμῆσαι πρόχειρος καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Κεραυνὸς καλούμενος, οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς προσιὼν ὁ Σελεύκου στρατὸς ἐγένετο κατὰ Λυσιμάχειαν, λαθὼν Σέλευκον κτείνει, διαρπάσαι δὲ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ χρήματα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐβασίλευσε Μακεδονίας, ἐς ὃ Γαλάταις πρῶτος ὧν ἴσμεν βασιλέων ἀντιτάξασθαι τολμήσας ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν Ἀντίγονος ἀνεσώσατο ὁ Δημητρίου.

3 Σέλευκον δὲ βασιλέων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πείθομαι καὶ ἄλλως γενέσθαι δίκαιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβῆ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Σέλευκός ἐστιν ὁ Μιλησίοις τὸν χαλκοῦν καταπέμψας Ἀπόλλωνα ἐς Βραγχίδας, ἀνακομισθέντα ἐς Ἐκβάτανα τὰ Μηδικὰ ὑπὸ Ξέρξου· τοῦτο δὲ Σελεύκειαν οἰκίσας ἐπὶ Τίγρητι ποταμῷ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους οὗτος ἐπαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν συνοίκους ὑπελίπετο μὲν τὸ τεῖχος Βαβυλῶνος, ὑπελίπετο δὲ τοῦ Βὴλ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ τοὺς Χαλδαίους οἰκεῖν.

XVII. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἐλέου βωμός, ᾧ μάλιστα θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων ὄντι ὠφελίμῳ μόνοι τιμὰς Ἑλλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. τούτοις δὲ οὐ τὰ ἐς φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν ἄλλων πλέον, καὶ γὰρ Αἰδοῦς

lowed by the fall of Lysimachus, he entrusted to his son Antiochus all his empire in Asia, and himself proceeded rapidly towards Macedonia, having with him an army both of Greeks and of foreigners. But Ptolemy, brother of Lysandra, had taken refuge with him from Lysimachus; this man, an adventurous character named for this reason the Thunderbolt, when the army of Seleucus had advanced as far as Lysimachea, assassinated Seleucus, allowed the kings to seize 281 B.C. his wealth, and ruled over Macedonia until, being the first of the kings to my knowledge to dare to meet the Gauls in battle, he was killed by the 280 B.C. foreigners. The empire was recovered by Antigonus, son of Demetrius. I am persuaded that Seleucus was the most righteous, and in particular the most religious of the kings. Firstly, it was Seleucus who sent back to Branchidae for the Milesians the bronze Apollo that had been carried by Xerxes to Ecbatana in Persia. Secondly, when he founded Seleucea on the river Tigris and brought to it Babylonian colonists, he spared the wall of Babylon as well as the sanctuary of Bel, near which he permitted the Chaldeans to live.

XVII. In the Athenian market-place among the objects not generally known is an altar to Mercy, of all divinities the most useful in the life of mortals and in the vicissitudes of fortune, but honoured by the Athenians alone among the Greeks. And they are conspicuous not only for their humanity but also for their devotion to religion. They have an altar to

σφισι βωμός ἐστι καὶ Φήμης καὶ Ὁρμῆς· δῆλά τε ἐναργῶς, ὅσοις πλέον τι ἑτέρων εὐσεβείας
2 μέτεστιν, ἴσον σφίσι παρὸν τύχης χρηστῆς. ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολύ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασαμένου καλουμένῳ, λίθοι τέ εἰσιν Ἑρμαῖ θέας ἄξιοι καὶ εἰκὼν Πτολεμαίου χαλκῆ· καὶ ὅ τε Λίβυς Ἰόβας ἐνταῦθα κεῖται καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς.

Πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ Θησέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν· γραφαὶ δέ εἰσι πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναῖοι μαχόμενοι. πεποίηται δὲ σφισιν ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θησέως ἱερῷ καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ Λαπιθῶν μάχη· Θησεὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπεκτονώς ἐστιν ἤδη Κένταυρον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκεν ἔτι ἡ μάχη.
3 τοῦ δὲ τρίτου τῶν τοίχων ἡ γραφὴ μὴ πυθομένοις ἃ λέγουσιν οὐ σαφής ἐστι, τὰ μέν που διὰ τὸν χρόνον, τὰ δὲ Μίκων οὐ τὸν πάντα ἔγραψε λόγον. Μίνως ἡνίκα Θησέα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον τῶν παίδων ἦγεν ἐς Κρήτην, ἐρασθεὶς Περιβοίας, ὡς οἱ Θησεὺς μάλιστα ἠναντιοῦτο, καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀπέρριψεν ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδα οὐκ ἔφη Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι, ἐπεὶ οὐ δύνασθαι τὴν σφραγῖδα, ἣν αὐτὸς φέρων ἔτυχεν, ἀφέντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνασῶσαί οἱ. Μίνως μὲν λέγεται ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀφεῖναι τὴν σφραγῖδα· Θησέα δὲ σφραγῖδά τε ἐκείνην ἔχοντα καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν, Ἀμφιτρίτης δῶρον, ἀνελθεῖν λέγουσιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης.
4 ἐς δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τὴν Θησέως πολλὰ ἤδη καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα εἴρηται· δεδέσθαι τε γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἐς τόδε ἕως ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀναχθείη,

Shamefastness, one to Rumour and one to Effort. It is quite obvious that those who excel in piety are correspondingly rewarded by good fortune. In the gymnasium not far from the market-place, called Ptolemy's from the founder, are stone Hermae well worth seeing and a likeness in bronze of Ptolemy. Here also is Juba the Libyan and Chrysippus[1] of Soli.

Hard by the gymnasium is a sanctuary of Theseus, where are pictures of Athenians fighting Amazons. This war they have also represented on the shield of their Athena and upon the pedestal of the Olympian Zeus. In the sanctuary of Theseus is also a painting of the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapithae. Theseus has already killed a Centaur, but elsewhere the fighting is still undecided. The painting on the third wall is not intelligible to those unfamiliar with the traditions, partly through age and partly because Micon has not represented in the picture the whole of the legend. When Minos was taking Theseus and the rest of the company of young folk to Crete he fell in love with Periboea, and on meeting with determined opposition from Theseus, hurled insults at him and denied that he was a son of Poseidon, since he could not recover for him the signet-ring, which he happened to be wearing, if he threw it into the sea. With these words Minos is said to have thrown the ring, but they say that Theseus came up from the sea with that ring and also with a gold crown that Amphitrite gave him. The accounts of the end of Theseus are many and inconsistent. They say he was kept a prisoner until Heracles restored him to the light of day, but the

[1] The Stoic philosopher, 280–207 B.C.

πιθανώτατα δὲ ὧν ἤκουσα· Θησεὺς ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐμβαλών, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν γυναῖκα ἁρπάσων, τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς οὕτως ἀπόλλυσι, καὶ αὐτός τε καὶ Πειρίθους — Πειρίθους γὰρ καὶ τὸν γάμον σπεύδων ἐστράτευεν — ἥλωσαν, καὶ σφᾶς ὁ Θεσπρωτὸς δήσας εἶχεν ἐν
5 Κιχύρῳ. γῆς δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἔστι μέν που καὶ ἄλλα θέας ἄξια, ἱερόν τε Διὸς ἐν Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἱερὰ τοῦ θεοῦ φηγός· πρὸς δὲ τῇ Κιχύρῳ λίμνη τέ ἐστιν Ἀχερουσία καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων, ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Κωκυτὸς ὕδωρ ἀτερπέστατον. Ὅμηρός τέ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἑωρακὼς ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν ἀποτολμῆσαι τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Θεσπρωτίδι θέσθαι. τότε δὲ ἐχομένου Θησέως στρατεύουσιν ἐς Ἄφιδναν οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες καὶ τήν τε Ἄφιδναν αἱροῦσι καὶ Μενεσθέα ἐπὶ
6 βασιλείᾳ κατήγαγον· Μενεσθεὺς δὲ τῶν μὲν παίδων τῶν Θησέως παρ' Ἐλεφήνορα ὑπεξελθόντων ἐς Εὔβοιαν εἶχεν οὐδένα λόγον, Θησέα δέ, εἴ ποτε παρὰ Θεσπρωτῶν ἀνακομισθήσεται, δυσανταγώνιστον ἡγούμενος διὰ θεραπείας τὰ τοῦ δήμου καθίστατο, ὡς Θησέα ἀνασωθέντα ὕστερον ἀπωσθῆναι. στέλλεται δὴ Θησεὺς παρὰ Δευκαλίωνα ἐς Κρήτην, ἐξενεχθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἐς Σκῦρον τὴν νῆσον λαμπρῶς περιεῖπον οἱ Σκύριοι κατὰ γένους δόξαν καὶ ἀξίωμα ὧν ἦν αὐτὸς εἰργασμένος· καί οἱ θάνατον Λυκομήδης διὰ ταῦτα ἐβούλευσεν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Θησέως σηκὸς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγένετο ὕστερον ἢ Μήδοι Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου Σκυρίους ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτους —

most plausible account I have heard is this. Theseus invaded Thesprotia to carry off the wife of the Thesprotian king, and in this way lost the greater part of his army, and both he and Peirithous (he too was taking part in the expedition, being eager for the marriage) were taken captive. The Thesprotian king kept them prisoners at Cichyrus. Among the sights of Thesprotia are a sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona and an oak sacred to the god. Near Cichyrus is a lake called Acherusia, and a river called Acheron. There is also Cocytus, a most unlovely stream. I believe it was because Homer had seen these places that he made bold to describe in his poems the regions of Hades, and gave to the rivers there the names of those in Thesprotia. While Theseus was thus kept in bonds, the sons of Tyndareus marched against Aphidna, captured it and restored Menestheus to the kingdom. Now Menestheus took no account of the children of Theseus, who had secretly withdrawn to Elephenor in Euboea, but he was aware that Theseus, if ever he returned from Thesprotia, would be a doughty antagonist, and so curried favour with his subjects that Theseus on recovering afterwards his liberty was expelled. So Theseus set out to Deucalion in Crete. Being carried out of his course by winds to the island of Scyros he was treated with marked honour by the inhabitants, both for the fame of his family and for the reputation of his own achievements. Accordingly Lycomedes contrived his death.

His close was built at Athens after the Persians landed at Marathon, when Cimon, son of Miltiades, ravaged Scyros, thus avenging Theseus'

δίκην δὴ τοῦ Θησέως θανάτου — καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ κομίσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας· XVIII. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, αὐτοί τε ἑστῶτες καὶ οἱ παῖδες καθήμενοί σφισιν ἐφ' ἵππων. ἐνταῦθα Πολύγνωτος μὲν ἔχοντα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευκίππου, Μίκων δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐς Κόλχους πλεύσαντας· καὶ οἱ τῆς γραφῆς ἡ σπουδὴ μάλιστα ἐς Ἄκαστον καὶ
2 τοὺς ἵππους ἔχει τοὺς Ἀκάστου. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀγλαύρου τέμενός ἐστιν. Ἀγλαύρῳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς Ἕρσῃ καὶ Παν-δρόσῳ δοῦναί φασιν Ἀθηνᾶν Ἐριχθόνιον κατα-θεῖσαν ἐς κιβωτόν, ἀπειποῦσαν ἐς τὴν παρακατα-θήκην μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν· Πάνδροσον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι πείθεσθαι, τὰς δὲ δύο — ἀνοῖξαι γὰρ σφᾶς τὴν κιβωτόν — μαίνεσθαί τε, ὡς εἶδον τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἔνθα ἦν μάλιστα ἀπότομον, αὑτὰς ῥῖψαι. κατὰ τοῦτο ἐπαναβάντες Μῆδοι κατεφόνευσαν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς πλέον τι ἐς τὸν χρησμὸν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰδέναι νομίζοντας καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ξύλοις καὶ
3 σταυροῖς ἀποτειχίσαντας. πλησίον δὲ πρυτα-νεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμ-μένοι καὶ θεῶν Εἰρήνης ἀγάλματα κεῖται καὶ Ἑστίας, ἀνδριάντες δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λυτύλυκος ὁ παγκρατιαστής· τὰς γὰρ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Θεμιστο-κλέους εἰκόνας ἐς Ῥωμαῖόν τε ἄνδρα καὶ Θρᾷκα
4 μετέγραψαν. ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερόν, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεὸν ἐσηγάγοντο. Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἱερὰ Σαράπιδος ἐπιφανέστατον μέν ἐστιν Ἀλε-ξανδρεῦσιν, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει· ἐς τοῦτο

death, and carried his bones to Athens. XVIII. The sanctuary of the Dioscuri is ancient. They themselves are represented as standing, while their sons are seated on horses. Here Polygnotus has painted the marriage of the daughters of Leucippus, which is a part of the gods' history, but Micon those who sailed with Jason to the Colchians, and he has concentrated his attention upon Acastus and his horses. Above the sanctuary of the Dioscuri is a sacred enclosure of Aglaurus. It was to Aglaurus and her sisters, Herse and Pandrosus, that they say Athena gave Erichthonius, whom she had hidden in a chest, forbidding them to pry curiously into what was entrusted to their charge. Pandrosus, they say, obeyed, but the other two (for they opened the chest) went mad when they saw Erichthonius, and threw themselves down the steepest part of the Acropolis. Here it was that the Persians climbed and killed the Athenians who thought that they understood the oracle[1] better than did Themistocles, and fortified the Acropolis with logs and stakes. Hard by is the Prytaneum (*Town-hall*), in which the laws of Solon are inscribed, and figures are placed of the goddesses Peace and Hestia (*Hearth*), while among the statues is Autolycus the pancratiast.[2] For the likenesses of Miltiades and Themistocles have had their titles changed to a Roman and a Thracian. As you descend from here to the lower part of the city, is a sanctuary of Serapis, whose worship the Athenians introduced from Ptolemy. Of the Egyptian sanctuaries of Serapis the most famous is at Alexandria, the oldest at Memphis. Into this neither

fl. 465 B.C.

480 B.C.

[1] That the Athenians were to trust their "wooden walls," *i.e.* their ships.

[2] See p. 191.

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ἐσελθεῖν οὔτε ξένοις ἔστιν οὔτε τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, πρὶν ἂν τὸν Ἄπιν θάπτωσι. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σαράπιδος οὐ πόρρω χωρίον ἐστίν, ἔνθα Πειρίθουν καὶ Θησέα συνθεμένους ἐς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ὕστερον
5 ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς σταλῆναι λέγουσι. πλησίον δὲ ᾠκοδόμητο ναὸς Εἰλειθυίας, ἣν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐς Δῆλον γενέσθαι βοηθὸν ταῖς Λητοῦς ὠδῖσι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν φασι τῆς Εἰλειθυίας μαθεῖν τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ θύουσί τε Εἰλειθυίᾳ Δήλιοι καὶ ὕμνον ᾄδουσιν Ὠλῆνος. Κρῆτες δὲ χώρας τῆς Κνωσσίας ἐν Ἀμνισῷ γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν Εἰλείθυιαν καὶ παῖδα Πρας εἶναι· μύνοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τῆς Εἰλειθυίας κεκάλυπται τὰ ξόανα ἐς ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας. τὰ μὲν δὴ δύο εἶναι Κρητικὰ καὶ Φαίδρας ἀναθήματα ἔλεγον αἱ γυναῖκες, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον Ἐρυσίχθονα ἐκ Δήλου κομίσαι.

6 Πρὶν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἰέναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου — Ἀδριανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τόν τε ναὸν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα θέας ἄξιον, οὐ μεγέθει[1] μέν, ὅτι μὴ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις εἰσὶν οἱ κολοσσοί, τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγάλματα ὁμοίως ἀπολείπεται,[2] πεποίηται δὲ ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἔχει τέχνης εὖ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος ὁρῶσιν —, ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνες Ἀδριανοῦ δύο μέν εἰσι Θασίου λίθου, δύο δὲ Αἰγυπτίου· χαλκαῖ δὲ ἑστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν κιόνων ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἀποίκους πόλεις.[3] ὁ μὲν δὴ πᾶς περίβολος σταδίων μάλιστα

[1] οὐ μεγέθει, emended by Coraes.
[2] ἀποδείκνυται, emended by Coraes.
[3] ἃς . . . ἀποίκους πόλεις placed after ἑκάστης by Wachsmuth.

stranger nor priest may enter, until they bury Apis. Not far from the sanctuary of Serapis is the place where they say that Peirithous and Theseus made their pact before setting forth to Lacedaemon and afterwards to Thesprotia. Hard by is built a temple of Eileithyia, who they say came from the Hyperboreans to Delos and helped Leto in her labour; and from Delos the name spread to other peoples. The Delians sacrifice to Eileithyia and sing a hymn of Olen. But the Cretans suppose that Eileithyia was born at Amnisus in the Cnossian territory, and that Hera was her mother. Only among the Athenians are the wooden figures of Eileithyia draped to the feet. The women told me that two are Cretan, being offerings of Phaedra, and that the third, which is the oldest, Erysichthon brought from Delos.

Before the entrance to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus—Hadrian the Roman emperor dedicated the temple and the statue, one worth seeing, which in size exceeds all other statues save the colossi at Rhodes and Rome, and is made of ivory and gold with an artistic skill which is remarkable when the size is taken into account—before the entrance, I say, stand statues of Hadrian, two of Thasian stone, two of Egyptian. Before the pillars stand bronze statues which the Athenians call "colonies." The whole circumference of the precincts is about four

τεσσάρων ἐστίν, ἀνδριάντων δὲ πλήρης· ἀπὸ γὰρ πόλεως ἑκάστης εἰκὼν Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνάκειται, καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερεβάλοντο Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὄπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ θέας ἄξιον.
7 ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαῖα ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ τέμενος Γῆς ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας. ἐνταῦθα ὅσον ἐς πῆχυν τὸ ἔδαφος διέστηκε, καὶ λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος συμβῶσαν ὑπορρυῆναι ταύτῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐσβάλλουσί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος
8 ἄλφιτα πυρῶν μέλιτι μίξαντες. κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ κίονος Ἰσοκράτους ἀνδριάς, ὃς ἐς μνήμην τρία ὑπελίπετο, ἐπιπονώτατον μὲν ὅτι οἱ βιώσαντι ἔτη δυοῖν δέοντα ἑκατὸν οὔποτε κατελύθη μαθητὰς ἔχειν, σωφρονέστατον δὲ ὅτι πολιτείας ἀπεχόμενος διέμεινε καὶ τὰ κοινὰ οὐ πολυπραγμονῶν, ἐλευθερώτατον δὲ ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης ἀλγήσας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐθελοντής. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ λίθου Φρυγίου Πέρσαι χαλκοῦν τρίποδα ἀνέχοντες, θέας ἄξιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ τρίπους. τοῦ δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς Δευκαλίωνα οἰκοδομῆσαι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν, σημεῖον ἀποφαίνοντες ὡς Δευκαλίων Ἀθήνησιν ᾤκησε τάφον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκότα.
9 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίοις, ναὸν Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερὸν κοινόν, τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἑκατόν εἰσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου· πεποίηνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τοῖχοι. καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ὀρόφῳ τε ἐπιχρύσῳ καὶ ἀλαβάστρῳ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμη-

stades, and they are full of statues; for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian, and the Athenians have surpassed them in dedicating, behind the temple, the remarkable colossus. Within the precincts are antiquities: a bronze Zeus, a temple of Cronus and Rhea and an enclosure of Earth surnamed Olympian. Here the floor opens to the width of a cubit, and they say that along this bed flowed off the water after the deluge that occurred in the time of Deucalion, and into it they cast every year wheat meal mixed with honey. On a pillar is a statue of Isocrates, whose memory is remarkable for three things: his diligence in continuing to teach to the end of his ninety-eight years, his self-restraint in keeping aloof from politics and from interfering with public affairs, and his love of liberty in dying a voluntary death, distressed at the news of the battle 338 B.C. at Chaeronea. There are also statues in Phrygian marble of Persians supporting a bronze tripod; both the figures and the tripod are worth seeing. The ancient sanctuary of Olympian Zeus the Athenians say was built by Deucalion, and they cite as evidence that Deucalion lived at Athens a grave which is not far from the present temple. Hadrian constructed other buildings also for the Athenians: a temple of Hera and Zeus Panellenios (*Common to all Greeks*), a sanctuary common to all the gods, and, most famous of all, a hundred pillars of Phrygian marble. The walls too are constructed of the same material as the cloisters. And there are rooms there adorned with a gilded roof and with alabaster stone, as well as

μένα καὶ γραφαῖς· κατάκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία. καὶ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν ἐπώνυμον Ἀδριανοῦ· κίονες δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἑκατὸν λιθοτομίας τῆς Λιβύων.

XIX. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πλησίον ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Δελφινίου. λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ἐξειργασμένου τοῦ ναοῦ πλὴν τῆς ὀροφῆς ἀγνὼς ἔτι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφίκοιτο Θησεὺς ἐς τὴν πόλιν· οἷα δὲ χιτῶνα ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ ποδήρη καὶ πεπλεγμένης ἐς εὐπρεπὲς οἱ τῆς κόμης, ὡς ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Δελφινίου ναόν, οἱ τὴν στέγην οἰκοδομοῦντες ἤροντο σὺν χλευασίᾳ, ὅ τι δὴ παρθένος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου πλανᾶται μόνη· Θησεὺς δὲ ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐδήλωσεν οὐδέν, ἀπολύσας δὲ ὡς λέγεται τῆς ἁμάξης τοὺς βοῦς, ἧ σφισι παρῆν, ἀνέρριψεν ἐς ὑψη-
2 λότερον ἢ τῷ ναῷ τὴν στέγην ἐποιοῦντο.—ἐς δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ὃ Κήπους ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸν ναὸν οὐδεὶς λεγόμενός σφισίν ἐστι λόγος· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἣ τοῦ ναοῦ πλησίον ἕστηκε. ταύτης γὰρ σχῆμα μὲν τετράγωνον κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα σημαίνει τὴν Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην τῶν καλουμένων Μοιρῶν εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἐν Κήποις ἔργον ἐστὶν Ἀλκαμένους καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ὀλίγοις
3 θέας ἄξιον. ἔστι δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν καλούμενον Κυνόσαργες· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν κύνα εἰδέναι τὴν λευκὴν ἐπιλεξαμένοις ἔστι τὸν χρησμόν, βωμοὶ δέ εἰσιν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Ἥβης, ἣν Διὸς παῖδα οὖσαν συνοικεῖν Ἡρακλεῖ νομίζουσιν· Ἀλκμήνης τε βωμὸς καὶ Ἰολάου πεποίηται, ὃς

with statues and paintings. In them are kept books. There is also a gymnasium named after Hadrian; of this too the pillars are a hundred in number from the Libyan quarries.

XIX. Close to the temple of Olympian Zeus is a statue of the Pythian Apollo. There is further a sanctuary of Apollo surnamed Delphinius. The story has it that when the temple was finished with the exception of the roof Theseus arrived in the city, a stranger as yet to everybody. When he came to the temple of the Delphinian, wearing a tunic that reached to his feet and with his hair neatly plaited, those who were building the roof mockingly inquired what a marriageable virgin was doing wandering about by herself. The only answer that Theseus made was to loose, it is said, the oxen from the cart hard by, and to throw them higher than the roof of the temple they were building. Concerning the district called The Gardens, and the temple of Aphrodite, there is no story that is told by them, nor yet about the Aphrodite which stands near the temple. Now the shape of it is square, like that of the Hermae, and the inscription declares that the Heavenly Aphrodite is the oldest of those called Fates. But the statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens is the work of Alcamenes, and one of the most noteworthy things in Athens. There is also the place called Cynosarges, sacred to Heracles; the story of the white dog[1] may be known by reading the oracle. There are altars of Heracles and Hebe, who they think is the daughter of Zeus and wife to Heracles. An altar has been built to Alcmena and to Iolaus,

[1] "Cynosarges" may mean *white dog*.

τὰ πολλὰ Ἡρακλεῖ συνεπόνησε τῶν ἔργων. Λύκειον δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίονος ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἱερὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε εὐθὺς καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνομίζετο, Λύκειός τε ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα ὠνομάσθη πρῶτον· λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ Τερμίλαις, ἐς οὓς ἦλθεν ὁ Λύκος φεύγων Αἰγέα, καὶ τούτοις αἴτιός ἐστι Λυκίους ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κα-
4 λεῖσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ὄπισθεν τοῦ Λυκείου Νίσου μνῆμα, ὃν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Μίνω βασιλεύοντα Μεγάρων κομίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι ταύτῃ θάπτουσιν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Νῖσον ἔχει λόγος τρίχας ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ οἱ πορφυρᾶς εἶναι, χρῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ ταύταις ἀποκαρείσαις· ὡς δὲ οἱ Κρῆτες ἦλθον ἐς τὴν γῆν, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἥρουν τὰς ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι πόλεις, ἐς δὲ τὴν Νίσαιαν καταφεύγοντα τὸν Νῖσον ἐπολιόρκουν· ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Νίσου λέγεται θυγατέρα ἐρασθῆναι Μίνω καὶ ὡς ἀπέκειρε τὰς τρίχας τοῦ πατρός.

5 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι· ποταμοὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ῥέουσιν Ἰλισός τε καὶ Ἠριδανῷ τῷ Κελτικῷ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄνομα ἔχων, ἐκδιδοὺς ἐς τὸν Ἰλισόν. ὁ δὲ Ἰλισός ἐστιν οὗτος, ἔνθα παίζουσαν Ὠρείθυιαν ὑπὸ ἀνέμου Βορέου φασὶν ἁρπασθῆναι· καὶ συνοικεῖν Ὠρειθυίᾳ Βορέαν καί σφισι διὰ τὸ κῆδος ἀμύναντα τῶν τριήρων τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἀπολέσαι τὰς πολλάς. ἐθέλουσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἰλισόν, καὶ Μουσῶν βωμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐστιν Ἰλισιάδων· δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἔνθα Πελοποννήσιοι Κόδρον τὸν Μελάνθου βασιλεύοντα Ἀθηναίων κτείνουσι.
6 διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἰλισὸν χωρίον Ἄγραι καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος· ἐνταῦθα

who shared with Heracles most of his labours. The Lyceum has its name from Lycus, the son of Pandion, but it was considered sacred to Apollo from the beginning down to my time, and here was the god first named Lyceus. There is a legend that the Termilae also, to whom Lycus came when he fled from Aegeus, were called Lycii after him. Behind the Lyceum is a monument of Nisus, who was killed while king of Megara by Minos, and the Athenians carried him here and buried him. About this Nisus there is a legend. His hair, they say, was red, and it was fated that he should die on its being cut off. When the Cretans *i* attacked the country, they captured the other cities of the Megarid by assault, but Nisaea, in which Nisus had taken refuge, they beleaguered. The story says how the daughter of Nisus, falling in love here with Minos, cut off her father's hair. Such is the legend.

The rivers that flow through Athenian territory are the Ilisus and its tributary the Eridanus, whose name is the same as that of the Celtic river. This Ilisus is the river by which Oreithyia was playing when, according to the story, she was carried off by the North Wind. With Oreithyia he lived in wedlock, and because of the tie between him and the Athenians he helped them by destroying most of the foreigners' warships. The Athenians hold that the Ilisus is sacred to other deities as well, and on its bank is an altar of the Ilisian Muses. The place too is pointed out where the Peloponnesians killed Codrus, son of Melanthus and king of Athens. Across the Ilisus is a district called Agrae and a temple of Artemis Agrotera (*the*

Ἄρτεμιν πρῶτον θηρεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐκ Δήλου, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα διὰ τοῦτο ἔχει τόξον. τὸ δὲ ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπαγωγόν, θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι, στάδιόν ἐστι λευκοῦ λίθου. μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇδε ἄν τις μάλιστα τεκμαίροιτο· ἄνωθεν ὄρος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰλισὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ μηνοειδοῦς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην εὐθύ τε καὶ διπλοῦν. τοῦτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Ἡρῴδης ᾠκοδόμησε, καί οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντελῆσιν ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀνηλώθη.

XX. Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες· ἀφ' οὗ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, ναοὶ ὅσον ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι, καί σφισιν ἐφεστήκασι τρίποδες, χαλκοῖ μέν, μνήμης δὲ ἄξια μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἰργασμένα. Σάτυρος γάρ ἐστιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Πραξιτέλην λέγεται φρονῆσαι μέγα· καί ποτε Φρύνης αἰτούσης, ὅ τι οἱ κάλλιστον εἴη τῶν ἔργων, ὁμολογεῖν μέν φασιν οἷα ἐραστὴν διδόναι, κατειπεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὅ τι κάλλιστον αὐτῷ οἱ φαίνοιτο. ἐσδραμὼν οὖν οἰκέτης Φρύνης ἔφασκεν οἴχεσθαι Πραξιτέλει τὸ πολὺ τῶν ἔργων πυρὸς ἐσπεσόντος ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, οὐ μὲν
2 οὖν πάντα γε ἀφανισθῆναι· Πραξιτέλης δὲ αὐτίκα ἔθει διὰ θυρῶν ἔξω καί οἱ καμόντι οὐδὲν ἔφασκεν εἶναι πλέον, εἰ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σάτυρον ἡ φλὸξ καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα ἐπέλαβε· Φρύνη δὲ μένειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευε· παθεῖν γὰρ ἀνιαρὸν οὐδέν, τέχνη δὲ ἁλόντα ὁμολογεῖν τὰ κάλλιστα ὧν ἐποίησε. Φρύνη μὲν οὕτω τὸν Ἔρωτα αἱρεῖται· Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Σάτυρός ἐστι παῖς καὶ δίδωσιν ἔκπωμα· Ἔρωτα δ' ἑστηκότα ὁμοῦ καὶ Διόνυσον Θυμίλος ἐποίησεν.

Huntress). They say that Artemis first hunted here when she came from Delos, and for this reason the statue carries a bow. A marvel to the eyes, though not so impressive to hear of, is a race-course of white marble, the size of which can best be estimated from the fact that beginning in a crescent on the heights above the Ilisus it descends in two straight lines to the river bank. This was built by Herodes, an Athenian, and the greater part of the Pentelic quarry was exhausted in its construction.

XX. Leading from the Prytaneum is a road called Tripods. The place takes its name from the shrines, large enough to hold the tripods which stand upon them, of bronze, but containing very remarkable works of art, including a Satyr, of which Praxiteles is said to have been very proud. Phryne once asked of him the most beautiful of his works, and the story goes that lover-like he agreed to give it, but refused to say which he thought the most beautiful. So a slave of Phryne rushed in saying that a fire had broken out in the studio of Praxiteles, and the greater number of his works were lost, though not all were destroyed. Praxiteles at once started to rush through the door crying that his labour was all wasted if indeed the flames had caught his Satyr and his Love. But Phryne bade him stay and be of good courage, for he had suffered no grievous loss, but had been trapped into confessing which were the most beautiful of his works. So Phryne chose the statue of Love; while a Satyr is in the temple of Dionysus hard by, a boy holding out a cup. The Love standing with him and the Dionysus were made by Thymilus.

3 Τοῦ Διονύσου δέ ἐστι πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν· δύο δέ εἰσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναοὶ καὶ Διόνυσοι, ὅ τε Ἐλευθερεὺς καὶ ὃν Ἀλκαμένης ἐποίησεν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ. γραφαὶ δὲ αὐτόθι Διόνυσός ἐστιν ἀνάγων Ἥφαιστον ἐς οὐρανόν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, ὡς Ἥρα ῥίψαι γενόμενον Ἥφαιστον, ὁ δέ οἱ μνησικακῶν πέμψαι δῶρον χρυσοῦν θρόνον ἀφανεῖς δεσμοὺς ἔχοντα, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπεί τε ἐκαθέζετο δεδέσθαι, θεῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδενὶ τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι, Διόνυσος δὲ—μάλιστα γὰρ ἐς τοῦτον πιστὰ ἦν Ἡφαίστῳ—μεθύσας αὐτὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγε· ταῦτά τε δὴ γεγραμμένα εἰσὶ καὶ Πενθεὺς καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὧν ἐς Διόνυσον ὕβρισαν διδόντες δίκας, Ἀριάδνη δὲ καθεύδουσα καὶ Θησεὺς ἀναγόμενος καὶ Διόνυσος ἥκων ἐς τῆς Ἀριάδνης τὴν ἁρπαγήν.

4 Ἔστι δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκεύασμα, ποιηθῆναι δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτὸ ἐς μίμησιν τῆς Ξέρξου λέγεται· ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον, τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἐνέπρησε Σύλλας Ἀθήνας ἑλών. αἰτία δὲ ἦδε τοῦ πολέμου. Μιθριδάτης ἐβασίλευε βαρβάρων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὔξεινον. πρόφασις μὲν δὴ δι' ἥντινα Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμησε καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη καὶ ὅσας ἐν πολέμῳ βιασάμενος πόλεις ἔσχεν ἢ φίλας ἐποιήσατο, τάδε μὲν τοῖς ἐπίστασθαι τὰ Μιθριδάτου θέλουσι μελέτω· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσον ἐς τὴν ἅλωσιν τὴν 5 Ἀθηναίων ἔχει δηλώσω. ἦν Ἀριστίων Ἀθηναῖος, ᾧ Μιθριδάτης πρεσβεύειν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἐχρῆτο· οὗτος ἀνέπεισεν Ἀθη-

The oldest sanctuary of Dionysus is near the theatre. Within the precincts are two temples and two statues of Dionysus, the Eleuthereus (*Deliverer*) and the one Alcamenes made of ivory and gold. There are paintings here—Dionysus bringing Hephaestus up to heaven. One of the Greek legends is that Hephaestus, when he was born, was thrown down by Hera. In revenge he sent as a gift a golden chair with invisible fetters. When Hera sat down she was held fast, and Hephaestus refused to listen to any other of the gods save Dionysus—in him he reposed the fullest trust—and after making him drunk Dionysus brought him to heaven. Besides this picture there are also represented Pentheus and Lycurgus paying the penalty of their insolence to Dionysus, Ariadne asleep, Theseus putting out to sea, and Dionysus on his arrival to carry off Ariadne.

Near the sanctuary of Dionysus and the theatre is a structure, which is said to be a copy of Xerxes' tent. It has been rebuilt, for the old building was burnt by the Roman general Sulla when he took Athens. B.C. 86 The cause of the war was this. Mithridates was king over the foreigners around the Euxine. Now the grounds on which he made war against the Romans, how he crossed into Asia, and the cities he took by force of arms or made his friends, I must leave for those to find out who wish to know the history of Mithridates, and I shall confine my narrative to the capture of Athens. There was an Athenian, Aristion, whom Mithridates employed as his envoy to the Greek cities. He induced the Athenians to join

ναίους Μιθριδάτην θέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ἐπίπροσθεν. ἀνέπεισε δὲ οὐ πάντας, ἀλλ' ὅσον δῆμος ἦν καὶ δήμου τὸ ταραχῶδες· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὧν τις λόγος, παρὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκπίπτουσιν ἐθελονταί. γενομένης δὲ μάχης πολλῷ περιῆσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ φεύγοντας Ἀριστίωνα μὲν καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐς τὸ ἄστυ καταδιώκουσιν, Ἀρχέλαον δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ· Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὗτος ἦν, ὃν πρότερον τούτων Μάγνητες οἱ τὸν Σίπυλον οἰκοῦντες σφᾶς ἐπεκδραμόντα αὐτόν τε τιτρώσκουσι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι
6 τοὺς πολλούς. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ πολιορκία καθειστήκει, Ταξίλος δὲ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐτύγχανε μὲν περικαθήμενος Ἐλάτειαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι, ἀφικομένων δὲ ἀγγέλων ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦγεν. ἃ πυνθανόμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἀθήνας μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρει πολιορκεῖν ἀφῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ταξίλῳ τὸ πολὺ τῆς δυνάμεως ἔχων ἐς Βοιωτοὺς ἅπαντᾷ. τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦλθον ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὰ στρατόπεδα ἄγγελοι, Σύλλᾳ μὲν ὡς Ἀθηναίοις εἴη τὸ τεῖχος ἑαλωκός, τοῖς δὲ Ἀθήνας πολιορκήσασι Ταξίλον κεκρατῆσθαι μάχῃ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν. Σύλλας δὲ ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπανῆλθε, τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας Ἀθηναίων καθείρξας ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν τὸν λαχόντα σφῶν ἐκ δεκάδος ἑκάστης ἐκέλευσεν ἄγεσθαι τὴν
7 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Σύλλου δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέντος ἐς Ἀθηναίους τοῦ θυμοῦ λαθόντες ἐκδιδράσκουσιν ἄνδρες ἐς Δελφούς· ἐρομένοις δέ σφισιν, εἰ καταλαμβάνοι τὸ χρεὼν ἤδη καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐρημωθῆναι, τούτοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία τὰ ἐς τὸν ἀσκὸν ἔχοντα.

Mithridates rather than the Romans, although he did not induce all, but only the lower orders, and only the turbulent among them. The respectable Athenians fled to the Romans of their own accord. In the engagement that ensued the Romans won a decisive victory; Aristion and the Athenians they drove in flight into the city, Archelaus and the foreigners into the Peiraeus. This Archelaus was another general of Mithridates, whom earlier than this the Magnetes, who inhabit Sipylus, wounded when he raided their territory, killing most of the foreigners as well. So Athens was invested. Taxilus, a general of Mithridates, was at the time besieging Elatea in Phocis, but on receiving the news he withdrew his troops towards Attica. Learning this, the Roman general entrusted the siege of Athens to a portion of his army, and with the greater part of his forces advanced in person to meet Taxilus in Boeotia. On the third day from this, news came to both the Roman armies; Sulla heard that the Athenian fortifications had been stormed, and the besieging force learnt that Taxilus had been defeated in battle near Chaeronea. When Sulla returned to Attica he imprisoned in the Ceramcicus the Athenians who had opposed him, and one chosen by lot out of every ten he ordered to be led to execution. Sulla abated nothing of his wrath against the Athenians, and so a few effected an escape to Delphi, and asked if the time were now come when it was fated for Athens also to be made desolate, receiving from the Pythia the response about the wine skin. Afterwards Sulla

Σύλλα δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἐνέπεσεν ἡ νόσος, ᾗ καὶ τὸν Σύριον Φερεκύδην ἁλῶναι πυνθάνομαι. Σύλλᾳ δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀγριώτερα ἢ ὡς ἄνδρα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐργάσασθαι Ῥωμαῖον· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα δὴ αἰτίαν γενέσθαι οἱ δοκῶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, Ἱκεσίου δὲ μήνιμα, ὅτι καταφυγόντα ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἀποσπάσας Ἀριστίωνα.

Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακωθεῖσαι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὖθις Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἤνθησαν· XXI. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίοις εἰκόνες ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας ποιητῶν, αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων· ὅτι μὴ γὰρ Μένανδρος, οὐδεὶς ἦν ποιητὴς κωμῳδίας τῶν ἐς δόξαν ἡκόντων. τραγῳδίας δὲ κεῖνται τῶν φανερῶν Εὐριπίδης καὶ Σοφοκλῆς. λέγεται δὲ Σοφοκλέους τελευτήσαντος ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ σφῶν τὸν ἡγούμενον ἰδεῖν ἐπιστάντα οἱ Διόνυσον κελεύειν τιμαῖς, ὅσαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι, τὴν Σειρῆνα τὴν νέαν τιμᾶν· καί οἱ τὸ ὄναρ ἐς Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὴν Σοφοκλέους ποίησιν ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν, εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιημάτων καὶ λύγων τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν
2 Σειρῆνι εἰκάζειν. τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα τὴν Αἰσχύλου πολλῷ τε ὕστερον τῆς τελευτῆς δοκῶ ποιηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἡ τὸ ἔργον ἔχει τὸ Μαραθῶνι. ἔφη δὲ Αἰσχύλος μειράκιον ὢν καθεύδειν ἐν ἀγρῷ φυλίσσων σταφυλάς, καί οἱ Διόνυσον ἐπιστάντα κελεῦσαι τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἦν ἡμέρα—πείθεσθαι γὰρ ἐθέλειν—ῥᾷστα ἤδη πειρώμενος
3 ποιεῖν. οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Νοτίου καλουμένου τείχους, ὃ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως

was smitten with the disease which I learn attacked Pherecydes the Syrian. Although Sulla's treatment of the Athenian people was so savage as to be unworthy of a Roman, I do not think that this was the cause of his calamity, but rather the vengeance of the suppliants' Protector, for he had dragged Aristion from the sanctuary of Athena, where he had taken refuge, and killed him.

In such wise was Athens sorely afflicted by the war with Rome, but she flourished again when Hadrian was emperor. XXI. In the theatre the Athenians have portrait statues of poets, both tragic and comic, but they are mostly of undistinguished persons. With the exception of Menander no poet of comedy represented here won a reputation, but tragedy has two illustrious representatives, Euripides and Sophocles. There is a legend that after the death of Sophocles the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica, and their commander saw in a vision Dionysus, who bade him honour, with all the customary honours of the dead, the new Siren. He interpreted the dream as referring to Sophocles and his poetry, and down to the present day men are wont to liken to a Siren whatever is charming in both poetry and prose. The likeness of Aeschylus is, I think, much later than his death and than the painting which depicts the action at Marathon. Aeschylus himself said that when a youth he slept while watching grapes in a field, and that Dionysus appeared and bade him write tragedy. When day came, in obedience to the vision, he made an attempt and hereafter found composing quite easy. Such were his words. On the South wall, as it is called, of the Acropolis, which faces

ἐς τὸ θέατρόν ἐστι τετραμμένον, ἐπὶ τούτου Μεδούσης τῆς Γοργόνος ἐπίχρυσος ἀνάκειται κεφαλή, καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν αἰγὶς πεποίηται. ἐν δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρου σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· τρίπους δὲ ἔπεστι καὶ τούτῳ· Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄρτεμις τοὺς παῖδάς εἰσιν ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς Νιόβης. ταύτην τὴν Νιόβην καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον ἀνελθὼν ἐς τὸν Σίπυλον τὸ ὄρος· ἡ δὲ πλησίον μὲν πέτρα καὶ κρημνός ἐστιν οὐδὲν παρόντι σχῆμα παρεχόμενος γυναικὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε πενθούσης· εἰ δέ γε πορρωτέρω γένοιο, δεδακρυμένην δόξεις ὁρᾶν καὶ κατηφῆ γυναῖκα.

4 Ἰόντων δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τέθαπται Κάλως· τοῦτον τὸν Κάλων ἀδελφῆς παῖδα ὄντα καὶ τῆς τέχνης μαθητὴν φονεύσας Δαίδαλος ἐς Κρήτην ἔφυγε, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐς Σικελίαν ἐκδιδράσκει παρὰ Κώκαλον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔς τε τὰ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν, ὁπόσα τοῦ θεοῦ πεποίηται καὶ τῶν παίδων, καὶ ἐς τὰς γραφὰς θέας ἄξιον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνη, παρ' ἣ λέγουσι Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα Ἁλιρρόθιον θυγατέρα Ἄρεως Ἀλκίππην αἰσχύναντα ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἄρεως, καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ
5 φόνῳ γενέσθαι πρῶτον. ἐνταῦθα ἄλλα τε καὶ Σαυροματικὸς ἀνάκειται θώραξ· ἐς τοῦτόν τις ἰδὼν οὐδὲν ἧσσον Ἑλλήνων τοὺς βαρβάρους φήσει σοφοὺς ἐς τὰς τέχνας εἶναι. Σαυρομάταις γὰρ οὔτε αὐτοῖς σίδηρός ἐστιν ὀρυσσόμενος οὔτε σφίσιν ἐσάγουσιν· ἄμικτοι γὰρ μάλιστα τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων εἰσί. πρὸς οὖν τὴν ἀπορίαν ταύτην ἐξεύρηταί σφισιν· ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς δόρασιν

the theatre, there is dedicated a gilded head of Medusa the Gorgon, and round it is wrought an aegis. At the top of the theatre is a cave in the rocks under the Acropolis. This also has a tripod over it, wherein are Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe. This Niobe I myself saw when I had gone up to Mount Sipylus. When you are near it is a beetling crag, with not the slightest resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you go further away you will think you see a woman in tears, with head bowed down.

On the way to the Athenian Acropolis from the theatre is the tomb of Calos. Daedalus murdered this Calos, who was his sister's son and a student of his craft, and therefore he fled to Crete; afterwards he escaped to Cocalus in Sicily. The sanctuary of Asclepius is worth seeing both for its paintings and for the statues of the god and his children. In it there is a spring, by which they say that Poseidon's son Halirrhothius deflowered Alcippe the daughter of Ares, who killed the ravisher and was the first to be put on his trial for the shedding of blood. Among the votive offerings there is a Sauromatic breastplate. On seeing this a man will say that no less than Greeks are foreigners skilled in the arts. For the Sauromatae have no iron, neither mined by themselves nor yet imported. They have, in fact, no dealings at all with the foreigners around them. To meet this deficiency they have contrived inventions. In place of iron they use bone for their spear-blades,

αἰχμὰς ὀστεΐνας ἀντὶ σιδήρου φοροῦσι, τύξα τε κράνινα καὶ ὀιστοὺς καὶ ὀστεΐνας ἀκίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀιστοῖς· καὶ σειραῖς περιβαλόντες τῶν πολεμίων ὁπόσους καὶ τύχοιεν, τοὺς ἵππους ἀποστρέψαντες
6 ἀνατρέπουσι τοὺς ἐνσχεθέντας ταῖς σειραῖς. τοὺς δὲ θώρακας ποιοῦνται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. ἵππους πολλὰς ἕκαστος τρέφει, ὡς ἂν οὔτε ἐς ἰδιωτῶν κλήρους τῆς γῆς μεμερισμένης οὔτε τι φερούσης πλὴν ὕλης ἀγρίας ἅτε ὄντων νομάδων· ταύταις οὐκ ἐς πόλεμον χρῶνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῖς θύουσιν ἐπιχωρίοις καὶ ἄλλως σιτοῦνται. συλλεξάμενοι δὲ τὰς ὁπλὰς ἐκκαθήραντές τε καὶ διελόντες ποιοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμφερῆ δρακόντων φολίσιν· ὅστις δὲ οὐκ εἶδέ πω δράκοντα, πίτυός γε εἶδε καρπὸν χλωρὸν ἔτι· ταῖς οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ τῆς πίτυος φαινομέναις ἐντομαῖς εἰκάζων τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὁπλῆς οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοι. ταῦτα διατρήσαντες καὶ νεύροις ἵππων καὶ βοῶν συρράψαντες χρῶνται θώραξιν οὔτε εὐπρεπείᾳ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποδέουσιν οὔτε ἀσθενεστέροις· καὶ γὰρ συστάδην τυπτόμενοι καὶ βληθέντες
7 ἀνέχονται. οἱ δὲ θώρακες οἱ λινοῖ μαχομένοις μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι, διιᾶσι γὰρ καὶ βιαζόμενοι τὸν σίδηρον· θηρεύοντας δὲ ὠφελοῦσιν, ἐναποκλῶνται γάρ σφισι καὶ λεόντων ὀδόντες καὶ παρδάλεων. θώρακας δὲ λινοῦς ἰδεῖν ἔν τε ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς ἔστιν ἀνακειμένους καὶ ἐν Γρυνείῳ, ἔνθα Ἀπόλλωνος κάλλιστον ἄλσος δένδρων καὶ ἡμέρων καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀκάρπων ὀσμῆς παρέχεταί τινα ἢ θέας ἡδονήν.

XXII. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ταύτῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσι Θέμιδος ναός ἐστι.

and cornel-wood for their bows and arrows, with bone points for the arrows. They throw a lasso round any enemy they meet, and then turning round their horses upset the enemy caught in the lasso. Their breastplates they make in the following fashion. Each man keeps many mares, since the land is not divided into private allotments, nor does it bear anything except wild trees, as the people are nomads. These mares they not only use for war, but also sacrifice them to the local gods and eat them for food. Their hoofs they collect, clean, split, and make from them as it were python scales. Whoever has never seen a python must at least have seen a pine-cone still green. He will not be mistaken if he liken the product from the hoof to the segments that are seen on the pine-cone. These pieces they bore and stitch together with the sinews of horses and oxen, and then use them as breastplates that are as handsome and strong as those of the Greeks. For they can withstand blows of missiles and those struck in close combat. Linen breastplates are not so useful to fighters, for they let the iron pass through, if the blow be a violent one. They aid hunters, however, for the teeth of lions or leopards break off in them. You may see linen breastplates dedicated in other sanctuaries, notably in that at Gryneum, where there is a most beautiful grove of Apollo, with cultivated trees, and all those which, although they bear no fruit, are pleasing to smell or look upon.

XXII. After the sanctuary of Asclepius, as you go by this way towards the Acropolis, there is a temple

κέχωσται δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνῆμα Ἱππολύτῳ· τοῦ δέ οἱ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν ἐκ καταρῶν. δῆλα δέ, καὶ ὅστις βαρβάρων γλῶσσαν ἔμαθεν Ἑλλήνων, ὅ τε ἔρως τῆς Φαίδρας καὶ τῆς τροφοῦ τὸ ἐς τὴν διακονίαν τόλμημα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίοις Ἱππολύτου τάφος· ἔχει δέ σφισιν
2 ὧδε ὁ λόγος. Θησεὺς ὡς ἔμελλεν ἄξεσθαι Φαίδραν, οὐκ ἐθέλων εἴ οἱ γένοιντο παῖδες οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι τὸν Ἱππόλυτον οὔτε βασιλεύειν ἀντ' αὐτῶν, πέμπει παρὰ Πιτθέα τραφησόμενον αὐτὸν καὶ βασιλεύσοντα Τροιζῆνος. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Πάλλας καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐπανέστησαν Θησεῖ· τούτους κτείνας ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἔρχεται καθαρσίων ἕνεκα, καὶ Φαίδρα πρώτη ἐνταῦθα εἶδεν Ἱππόλυτον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν θάνατον ἐρασθεῖσα ἐβούλευσε. μυρσίνη δέ ἐστι Τροιζηνίοις τὰ φύλλα διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα τετρυπημένα· φῦναι δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιαύτην λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔργον γεγενῆσθαι τῆς ἐς τὸν ἔρωτα ἄσης καὶ τῆς περόνης ἣν
3 ἐπὶ ταῖς θριξὶν εἶχεν ἡ Φαίδρα. Ἀφροδίτην δὲ τὴν Πάνδημον, ἐπεί τε Ἀθηναίους Θησεὺς ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν, αὐτήν τε σέβεσθαι καὶ Πειθὼ κατέστησε· τὰ μὲν δὴ παλαιὰ ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἦν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τεχνιτῶν ἦν οὐ τῶν ἀφανεστάτων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς Κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔστιν αὐτῶν διδαχθῆναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐλθόντα ἐς λόγους.

4 Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολίν ἐστιν ἔσοδος μία· ἑτέραν δὲ οὐ παρέχεται, πᾶσα ἀπότομος οὖσα καὶ τεῖχος ἔχουσα ἐχυρόν. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ

of Themis. Before it is raised a sepulchral mound to Hippolytus. The end of his life, they say, came from curses. Everybody, even a foreigner who has learnt Greek, knows about the love of Phaedra and the wickedness the nurse dared commit to serve her. The Troezenians too have a grave of Hippolytus, and their legend about it is this. When Theseus was about to marry Phaedra, not wishing, should he have children, Hippolytus either to be their subject or to be king in their stead, sent him to Pittheus to be brought up and to be the future king of Troezen. Afterwards Pallas and his sons rebelled against Theseus. After putting them to death he went to Troezen for purification, and Phaedra first saw Hippolytus there. Falling in love with him she contrived the plot for his death. The Troezenians have a myrtle with every one of its leaves pierced; they say that it did not grow originally in this fashion, the holes being due to Phaedra's disgust with love and to the pin which she wore in her hair. When Theseus had united into one state the many Athenian parishes, he established the cults of Aphrodite Pandemos (*Common*) and of Persuasion. The old statues no longer existed in my time, but those I saw were the work of no inferior artists. There is also a sanctuary of Earth, Nurse of Youth, and of Demeter Chloë (*Green*). You can learn all about their names by conversing with the priests.

There is but one entry to the Acropolis. It affords no other, being precipitous throughout and having a strong wall. The gateway has a roof of white

τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔχει καὶ κόσμῳ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν λίθων μέχρι γε καὶ ἐμοῦ προεῖχε. τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰκόνας τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν οἱ Ξενοφῶντος εἴτε ἄλλως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν πεποιημέναι· τῶν δὲ προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἐστὶν Ἀπτέρου ναός. ἐντεῦθεν ἡ θάλασσά ἐστι σύνοπτος, καὶ ταύτῃ ῥίψας Αἰγεὺς
5 ἑαυτὸν ὡς λέγουσιν ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀνήγετο μὲν γὰρ ἡ ναῦς μέλασιν ἱστίοις ἡ τοὺς παῖδας φέρουσα ἐς Κρήτην, Θησεὺς δὲ—ἔπλει γὰρ τόλμης τι ἔχων ἐς τὸν Μίνω καλούμενον ταῦρον—πρὸς τὸν πατέρα προεῖπε χρήσεσθαι τοῖς ἱστίοις λευκοῖς, ἢν ὀπίσω πλέῃ τοῦ ταύρου κρατήσας· τούτων λήθην ἔσχεν Ἀριάδνην ἀφῃρημένος· ἐνταῦθα Αἰγεὺς ὡς εἶδεν ἱστίοις μέλασι τὴν ναῦν κομιζομένην, οἷα τὸν παῖδα τεθνάναι δοκῶν, ἀφεὶς αὑτὸν διαφθείρεται· καί οἱ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶ
6 καλούμενον ἡρῷον Αἰγέως.—ἔστι δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν προπυλαίων οἴκημα ἔχον γραφάς· ὁπόσαις δὲ μὴ καθέστηκεν ὁ χρόνος αἴτιος ἀφανέσιν εἶναι, Διομήδης ἦν καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς, ὁ μὲν ἐν Λήμνῳ τὸ Φιλοκτήτου τόξον, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀφαιρούμενος ἐξ Ἰλίου. ἐνταῦθα ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς Ὀρέστης ἐστὶν Αἴγισθον φονεύων καὶ Πυλάδης τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ναυπλίου βοηθοὺς ἐλθόντας Αἰγίσθῳ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως τάφου πλησίον μέλλουσά ἐστι σφάζεσθαι Πολυξένη. Ὁμήρῳ δὲ εὖ μὲν παρείθη τόδε τὸ ὠμὸν οὕτως ἔργον· εὖ δέ μοι φαίνεται ποιῆσαι Σκῦρον ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἁλοῦσαν, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ ὅσοι λέγουσιν ὁμοῦ ταῖς παρθένοις Ἀχιλλέα ἔχειν ἐν Σκύρῳ δίαιταν, ἃ δὴ καὶ Πολύγνωτος ἔγραψεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς

marble, and down to the present day it is unrivalled for the beauty and size of its stones. Now as to the statues of the horsemen, I cannot tell for certain whether they are the sons of Xenophon or whether they were made merely to beautify the place. On the right of the gateway is a temple of Wingless Victory. From this point the sea is visible, and here it was that, according to legend, Aegeus threw himself down to his death. For the ship that carried the young people to Crete began her voyage with black sails; but Theseus, who was sailing on an adventure against the bull of Minos, as it is called, had told his father beforehand that he would use white sails if he should sail back victorious over the bull. But the loss of Ariadne made him forget the signal. Then Aegeus, when from this eminence he saw the vessel borne by black sails, thinking that his son was dead, threw himself down to destruction. There is at Athens a sanctuary dedicated to him, and called the hero-shrine of Aegeus. On the left of the gateway is a building with pictures. Among those not effaced by time I found Diomedes taking the Athena from Troy, and Odysseus in Lemnos taking away the bow of Philoctetes. There in the pictures is Orestes killing Aegisthus, and Pylades killing the sons of Nauplius who had come to bring Aegisthus succour. And there is Polyxena about to be sacrificed near the grave of Achilles. Homer did well in passing by this barbarous act. I think too that he showed poetic insight in making Achilles capture Scyros, differing entirely from those who say that Achilles lived in Scyros with the maidens, as Polygnotus has represented in his picture. He also painted Odysseus

τῷ ποταμῷ ταῖς ὁμοῦ Ναυσικᾷ πλυνούσαις ἐφιστάμενον Ὀδυσσέα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε. γραφαὶ δέ εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι καὶ
7 Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἵππων δέ οἱ νίκης τῆς ἐν Νεμέᾳ ἐστὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ· καὶ Περσεύς ἐστιν ἐς Σέριφον κομιζόμενος, Πολυδέκτῃ φέρων τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Μεδούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς Μέδουσαν οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς σημῆναι· ἔτι δὲ τῶν γραφῶν, παρέντι τὸν παῖδα τὸν τὰς ὑδρίας φέροντα καὶ τὸν παλαιστὴν ὃν Τιμαίνετος ἔγραψεν, ἐστὶ Μουσαῖος. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔπη μὲν ἐπελεξάμην, ἐν οἷς ἐστι πέτεσθαι Μουσαῖον ὑπὸ Βορέου δῶρον, δοκεῖν δέ μοι πεποίηκεν αὐτὰ Ὀνομάκριτος καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲν Μουσαίου βεβαίως ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἐς Δήμητρα ὕμνος Λυκομίδαις.

8 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν Ἑρμῆν, ὃν Προπύλαιον ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Χάριτας Σωκράτην ποιῆσαι τὸν Σωφρονίσκου λέγουσιν, ᾧ σοφῷ γενέσθαι μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἡ Πυθία μάρτυς, ὃ μηδὲ Ἀνάχαρσιν ἐθέλοντα ὅμως καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενον προσεῖπεν. XXIII. Ἕλληνες δὲ ἄλλα τε λέγουσι καὶ ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ γενέσθαι σοφούς. τούτων καὶ τὸν Λέσβιον τύραννον καὶ Περίανδρον εἶναί φασι τὸν Κυψέλου· καίτοι Περιάνδρου Πεισίστρατος καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἱππίας φιλάνθρωποι μᾶλλον καὶ σοφώτεροι τά τε πολεμικὰ ἦσαν καὶ ὅσα ἦκεν ἐς κόσμον τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐς ὃ διὰ τὸν Ἱππάρχου θάνατον Ἱππίας ἄλλα τε ἐχρήσατο
2 θυμῷ καὶ ἐς γυναῖκα ὄνομα Λέαιναν. ταύτην γάρ, ἐπεί τε ἀπέθανεν Ἵππαρχος,—λέγω δὲ οὐκ ἐς συγγραφὴν πρότερον ἥκοντα, πιστὰ δὲ ἄλλως

coming upon the women washing clothes with Nausicaa at the river, just like the description in Homer. There are other pictures, including a portrait of Alcibiades, and in the picture are emblems of the victory his horses won at Nemea. There is also Perseus journeying to Seriphos, and carrying to Polydectes the head of Medusa, the legend about whom I am unwilling to relate in my description of Attica. Included among the paintings—I omit the boy carrying the water-jars and the wrestler of Timaenetus[1]—is Musaeus. I have read verse in which Musaeus receives from the North Wind the gift of flight, but, in my opinion, Onomacritus wrote them, and there are no certainly genuine works of Musaeus except a hymn to Demeter written for the Lycomidae.

Right at the very entrance to the Acropolis are a Hermes (called Hermes of the Gateway) and figures of Graces, which tradition says were sculptured by Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, who the Pythia testified was the wisest of men, a title she refused to Anacharsis, although he desired it and came to Delphi to win it. XXIII. Among the sayings of the Greeks is one that there were seven wise men. Two of them were the despot of Lesbos and Periander the son of Cypselus. And yet Peisistratus and his son Hippias were more humane than Periander, wiser too in warfare and in statecraft, until, on account of the murder of Hipparchus, Hippias vented his passion against all and sundry, including a woman named Leaena (*Lioness*). What I am about to say has never before been committed to writing, but is generally credited

[1] An unknown painter.

Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πολλοῖς—Ἱππίας εἶχεν ἐν αἰκίᾳ ἐς ὃ διέφθειρεν, οἷα ἑταίραν Ἀριστογείτονος ἐπιστάμενος οὖσαν καὶ τὸ βούλευμα οὐδαμῶς ἀγνοῆσαι δοξάζων· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων, ἐπεὶ τυραννίδος ἐπαύθησαν οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, χαλκῆ λέαινα Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐς μνήμην τῆς γυναικός, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης, ὃ Καλλίου τέ φασιν ἀνάθημα εἶναι καὶ ἔργον Καλάμιδος.

3 Πλησίον δέ ἐστι Διιτρέφους χαλκοῦς ἀνδριὰς ὀιστοῖς βεβλημένος. οὗτος ὁ Διιτρέφης ἄλλα τε ἔπραξεν ὁπόσα λέγουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θρᾷκας μισθωτοὺς ἀφικομένους ὕστερον ἢ Δημοσθένης ἐς Συρακούσας ἐξέπλευσε, τούτους ὡς ὑστέρησαν ὁ Διιτρέφης ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω. καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν Χαλκιδικὸν ἔσχεν Εὔριπον, ἔνθα Βοιωτῶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλις Μυκαλησσὸς ἦν· ταύτην ἐπαναβὰς ἐκ θαλάσσης ὁ Διιτρέφης εἶλε. Μυκαλησσίων δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ μάχιμον οἱ Θρᾷκες ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐφόνευσαν καὶ παῖδας. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι· Βοιωτῶν γὰρ ὅσους ἀνέστησαν Θηβαῖοι, ᾠκοῦντο αἱ πόλεις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, διαφυγόντων ὑπὸ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ καὶ Μυκαλησσίοις οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ πᾶσιν ἀποκτείναντες ἐπεξῆλθον, ὕστερον ἂν τὴν πόλιν
4 ἀπέλαβον οἱ λειφθέντες. τοσοῦτον μὲν παρέστη μοι θαῦμα ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Διιτρέφους, ὅτι ὀιστοῖς ἐβέβλητο, Ἕλλησιν ὅτι μὴ Κρησὶν οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ὂν τοξεύειν· Λοκροὺς γὰρ τοὺς Ὀπουντίους ὁπλιτεύοντας ἤδη κατὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἴσμεν, οὓς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν ὡς φερόμενοι τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας ἐς Ἴλιον ἔλθοιεν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Μαλιεῦσι παρέμεινε μελέτη τῶν τόξων, δοκῶ δὲ οὔτε πρό-

among the Athenians. When Hipparchus died, Hippias tortured Leaena to death, because he knew she was the mistress of Aristogeiton, and therefore could not possibly, he held, be in ignorance of the plot. As a recompense, when the tyranny of the Peisistratidae was at an end, the Athenians put up a bronze lioness in memory of the woman, which they say Callias dedicated and Calamis made.

Hard by is a bronze statue of Diitrephes shot through by arrows. Among the acts reported of this Diitrephes by the Athenians is his leading back home the Thracian mercenaries who arrived too late to take part in the expedition of Demosthenes against Syracuse. He also put into the Chalcidic Euripus, where the Boeotians had an inland town Mycalessus, marched up to this town from the coast and took it. Of the inhabitants the Thracians put to the sword not only the combatants but also the women and children. I have evidence to bring. All the Boeotian towns which the Thebans sacked were inhabited in my time, as the people escaped just before the capture; so if the foreigners had not exterminated the Mycalessians the survivors would have afterwards reoccupied the town. I was greatly surprised to see the statue of Diitrephes pierced with arrows, because the only Greeks whose custom it is to use that weapon are the Cretans. For the Opuntian Locrians, whom Homer represents as coming to Troy with bows and slings, we know were armed as heavy infantry by the time of the Persian wars. Neither indeed did the Malians continue the practice of the bow; in fact, I

413 B.C.

τερον ἐπίστασθαι σφᾶς πρὶν ἢ Φιλοκτήτην, παύσασθαί τε οὐ διὰ μακροῦ· τοῦ δὲ Διιτρέφους πλησίον—τὰς γὰρ εἰκόνας τὰς ἀφανεστέρας γράφειν οὐκ ἐθέλω—θεῶν ἀγάλματά ἐστιν Ὑγείας τε, ἣν Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσι, καὶ
5 Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν καὶ ταύτης Ὑγείας. ἔστι δὲ λίθος οὐ μέγας, ἀλλ' ὅσον καθίζεσθαι μικρὸν ἄνδρα· ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγουσιν, ἡνίκα Διόνυσος ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἀναπαύσασθαι τὸν Σιληνόν. τοὺς γὰρ ἡλικίᾳ τῶν Σατύρων προήκοντας ὀνομάζουσι Σιληνούς· περὶ δὲ Σατύρων, οἵτινές εἰσιν, ἑτέρου πλέον ἐθέλων ἐπίστασθαι πολλοῖς αὐτῶν τούτων ἕνεκα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον. ἔφη δὲ Εὔφημος Κὰρ ἀνὴρ πλέων ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἁμαρτεῖν ὑπὸ ἀνέμων τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν, ἐς ἣν οὐκέτι πλέουσιν, ἐξενεχθῆναι. νήσους δὲ εἶναι μὲν ἔλεγεν ἐρήμους πολλάς, ἐν δὲ ἄλλαις οἰκεῖν ἄνδρας ἀγρίους· ταύταις δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλειν νήσοις
6 προσίσχειν τοὺς ναύτας οἷα πρότερόν τε προσσχόντας καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων οὐκ ἀπείρως ἔχοντας, βιασθῆναι δ' οὖν καὶ τότε. ταύτας καλεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν Σατυρίδας, εἶναι δὲ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας καπυροὺς καὶ ἵππων οὐ πολὺ μείους ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσχίοις οὐράς. τούτους, ὡς ᾔσθοντο, καταδραμόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν φωνὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἱέναι, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐπιχειρεῖν ταῖς ἐν τῇ νηί· τέλος δὲ δείσαντας τοὺς ναύτας βάρβαρον γυναῖκα ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν νῆσον· ἐς ταύτην οὖν ὑβρίζειν τοὺς Σατύρους οὐ μόνον ἧ καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως σῶμα.

7 Καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει θεασάμενος οἶδα, Λυκίου τοῦ Μύρωνος χαλκοῦν παῖδα,

believe that they did not know it before the time of Philoctetes, and gave it up soon after. Near the statue of Diitrephes—I do not wish to write of the less distinguished portraits—are figures of gods; of Health, whom legend calls daughter of Asclepius, and of Athena, also surnamed Health. There is also a smallish stone, just large enough to serve as a seat to a little man. On it legend says Silenus rested when Dionysus came to the land. The oldest of the Satyrs they call Sileni. Wishing to know better than most people who the Satyrs are I have inquired from many about this very point. Euphemus the Carian said that on a voyage to Italy he was driven out of his course by winds and was carried into the outer sea, beyond the course of seamen. He affirmed that there were many uninhabited islands, while in others lived wild men. The sailors did not wish to put in at the latter, because, having put in before, they had some experience of the inhabitants, but on this occasion they had no choice in the matter. The islands were called Satyrides by the sailors, and the inhabitants were red haired, and had upon their flanks tails not much smaller than those of horses. As soon as they caught sight of their visitors, they ran down to the ship without uttering a cry and assaulted the women in the ship. At last the sailors in fear cast a foreign woman on to the island. Her the Satyrs outraged not only in the usual way, but also in a most shocking manner.

I remember looking at other things also on the Athenian Acropolis, a bronze boy holding the

ὃς τὸ περιρραντήριον ἔχει, καὶ Μύρωνος Περσέα τὸ ἐς Μέδουσαν ἔργον εἰργασμένον. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν ἐστι Βραυρωνίας, Πραξιτέλους μὲν τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα, τῇ θεῷ δέ ἐστιν ἀπὸ Βραυρῶνος δήμου τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ξοανόν ἐστιν ἐν Βραυρῶνι, Ἄρτεμις ὡς λέγουσιν ἡ Ταυρική.
8 ἵππος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Δούριος ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦς. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὸ ποίημα τὸ Ἐπειοῦ μηχάνημα ἦν ἐς διάλυσιν τοῦ τείχους, οἶδεν ὅστις μὴ πᾶσαν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς Φρυξὶν εὐήθειαν· λέγεται δὲ ἔς τε ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἵππον ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔνδον ἔχοι τοὺς ἀρίστους, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστι κατὰ ταὐτα· καὶ Μενεσθεὺς καὶ Τεῦκρος ὑπερκύπτουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ
9 οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θησέως. ἀνδριάντων δὲ ὅσοι μετὰ τὸν ἵππον ἑστήκασιν Ἐπιχαρίνου μὲν ὁπλιτοδρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε Κριτίας, Οἰνοβίῳ δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐς Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου χρηστόν· ψήφισμα γὰρ ἐνίκησεν Οἰνόβιος κατελθεῖν ἐς Ἀθήνας Θουκυδίδην, καί οἱ δολοφονηθέντι ὡς κατῄει μνῆμά ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω πυλῶν Μελιτί-
10 δων. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἑρμόλυκον τὸν παγκρατιαστὴν καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίχου γραψάντων ἑτέρων παρίημι· ἐς δὲ Φορμίωνα τοσόνδε ἔχω πλέον γράψαι. Φορμίωνι γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν Ἀθηναίων ὄντι ὁμοίῳ καὶ ἐς προγόνων δόξαν οὐκ ἀφανεῖ συνέβαινεν ὀφείλειν χρέα· ἀναχωρήσας οὖν ἐς τὸν Παιανιέα δῆμον ἐνταῦθα εἶχε δίαιταν, ἐς ὃ ναύαρχον αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων αἱρουμένων ἐκπλεύσεσθαι[1] οὐκ ἔφασκεν· ὀφείλειν τε γὰρ καί οἱ,

[1] ἐκπλεῦσαι, emended by Herwerden.

sprinkler, by Lycius son of Myron, and Myron's Perseus after beheading Medusa. There is also a sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis; the image is the work of Praxiteles, but the goddess derives her name from the parish of Brauron. The old wooden image is in Brauron, the Tauric Artemis as she is called. There is the horse called Wooden set up in bronze. That the work of Epeius was a contrivance to make a breach in the Trojan wall is known to everybody who does not attribute utter silliness to the Phrygians. But legend says of that horse that it contained the most valiant of the Greeks, and the design of the bronze figure fits in well with this story. Menestheus and Teucer are peeping out of it, and so are the sons of Theseus. Of the statues that stand after the horse, the likeness of Epicharinus who practised the race in armour was made by Critius, while Oenobius performed a kind service for Thucydides the son of Olorus.[1] He succeeded in getting a decree passed for the return of Thucydides to Athens, who was treacherously murdered as he was returning, and there is a monument to him not far from the Melitid gate. The stories of Hermolycus the pancratiast and Phormio[2] the son of Asopichus I omit, as others have told them. About Phormio, however, I have a detail to add. Quite one of the best men at Athens and distinguished for the fame of his ancestors he chanced to be heavily in debt. So he withdrew to the parish Paeania and lived there until the Athenians elected him to command a naval expedition. But he refused the office on the ground

[1] The great historian of the Peloponnesian war.

[2] A famous Athenian admiral who served during the first period of the Peloponnesian war.

πρὶν ἂν ἐκτίσῃ, πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐκ εἶναι παρέχεσθαι φρόνημα. οὕτως Ἀθηναῖοι—πάντως γὰρ ἐβούλοντο ἄρχειν Φορμίωνα—τὰ χρέα ὁπόσοις ὤφειλε διαλύουσιν.

XXIV. Ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶ πεποίηται τὸν Σιληνὸν Μαρσύαν παίουσα, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀνέλοιτο, ἐρρῖφθαι σφᾶς τῆς θεοῦ βουλομένης. —τούτων πέραν, ὧν εἴρηκα, ἐστὶν ἡ λεγομένη Θησέως μάχη πρὸς τὸν ταῦρον τὸν Μίνω καλούμενον, εἴτε ἀνὴρ εἴτε θηρίον ἦν ὁποῖον κεκράτηκεν ὁ λόγος· τέρατα γὰρ πολλῷ καὶ τοῦδε θαυμασιώτερα καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτικτον γυναῖκες. 2 κεῖται δὲ καὶ Φρίξος ὁ Ἀθάμαντος ἐξενηνεγμένος ἐς Κόλχους ὑπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ· θύσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὅτῳ δὴ θεῷ, ὡς δὲ εἰκάσαι τῷ Λαφυστίῳ καλουμένῳ παρὰ Ὀρχομενίοις, τοὺς μηροὺς κατὰ νόμον ἐκτεμὼν τὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐς αὐτοὺς καιομένους ὁρᾷ. κεῖνται δὲ ἑξῆς ἄλλαι τε εἰκόνες καὶ Ἡρακλέους· ἄγχει δέ, ὡς λόγος ἔχει, τοὺς δράκοντας. Ἀθηνᾶ τέ ἐστιν ἀνιοῦσα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦρος ἀνάθημα τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ ἀνέθηκεν ἡ βουλή· πολλὰ δ' 3 ἄν τις ἐθέλων εἰκάζοι. λέλεκται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὡς Ἀθηναίοις περισσότερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖά ἐστι σπουδῆς· πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην, πρῶτοι δ' ἀκώλους Ἑρμᾶς ἀνέθεσαν, ὁμοῦ δέ σφισιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ σπουδαίων[1] δαίμων ἐστίν. ὅστις δὲ τὰ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα ἐπίπροσθε τίθεται τῶν ἐς ἀρχαιότητα ἡκόντων, καὶ τάδε ἔστιν οἱ θεάσασθαι. κράνος ἐστὶν ἐπικείμενος ἀνὴρ Κλεοίτου,

[1] The text here is almost certainly corrupt.

that before his debts were discharged he lacked the spirit to face his troops. So the Athenians, who were absolutely determined to have Phormio as their commander, paid all his creditors.

XXIV. In this place is a statue of Athena striking Marsyas the Silenus for taking up the flutes that the goddess wished to be cast away for good. Opposite these I have mentioned is represented the fight which legend says Theseus fought with the so-called Bull of Minos, whether this was a man or a beast of the nature he is said to have been in the accepted story. For even in our time women have given birth to far more extraordinary monsters than this. There is also a statue of Phrixus the son of Athamas carried ashore to the Colchians by the ram. Having sacrificed the animal to some god or other, presumably to the one called by the Orchomenians Laphystius, he has cut out the thighs in accordance with Greek custom and is watching them as they burn. Next come other statues, including one of Heracles strangling the serpents as the legend describes. There is Athena too coming up out of the head of Zeus, and also a bull dedicated by the Council of the Areopagus on some occasion or other, about which, if one cared, one could make many conjectures. I have already stated that the Athenians are far more devoted to religion than other men. They were the first to surname Athena Ergane (*Worker*); they were the first to set up limbless Hermae, and the temple of their goddess is shared by the Spirit of Good men. Those who prefer artistic workmanship to mere antiquity may look at the following: a man wearing a helmet, by Cleoetas, whose nails the artist

καί οἱ τοὺς ὄνυχας ἀργυροῦς ἐνεποίησεν ὁ Κλεοίτας· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα ἱκετευούσης ὑσαὶ οἱ τὸν Δία, εἴτε αὐτοῖς ὄμβρου δεῆσαν Ἀθηναίοις εἴτε καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι συμβὰς αὐχμός. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος καὶ αὐτὸς κεῖται Κόνων· Πρόκνην δὲ τὰ ἐς τὸν παῖδα βεβουλευμένην αὐτήν τε καὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀλκαμένης. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ
4 κῦμα ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν· καὶ Διός ἐστιν ἄγαλμα τό τε Λεωχάρους καὶ ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Πολιεύς, ᾧ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐς τὴν θυσίαν γράφων τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένην αἰτίαν οὐ γράφω. τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως κριθὰς καταθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν μεμιγμένας πυροῖς οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσι φυλακήν· ὁ βοῦς δέ, ὃν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἑτοιμάσαντες φυλάσσουσιν, ἅπτεται τῶν σπερμάτων φοιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. καλοῦσι δέ τινα τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνον, ὃς κτείνας τὸν βοῦν καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν πέλεκυν ῥίψας—οὕτω γάρ ἐστίν οἱ νόμος—οἴχεται φεύγων· οἱ δὲ ἅτε τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες, ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν.

Ταῦτα μὲν τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον δρῶσιν· ἐς δὲ
5 τὸν ναὸν ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιοῦσιν ὁπόσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κεῖται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν, τὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ἡ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστιν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς· αὐτὸ δὲ ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποίηται. μέσῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπίκειταί οἱ τῷ κράνει Σφιγγὸς εἰκών—ἃ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σφίγγα λέγεται, γράψω προελθόντος ἐς τὰ Βοιώτιά μοι τοῦ λόγου—, καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ τοῦ κράνους γρῦ-

has made of silver, and an image of Earth beseeching Zeus to rain upon her; perhaps the Athenians themselves needed showers, or may be all the Greeks had been plagued with a drought. There also are set up Timotheus the son of Conon and Conon himself; Procne too, who has already made up her mind about the boy, and Itys as well—a group dedicated by Alcamenes. Athena is represented displaying the olive plant, and Poseidon the wave, and there are statues of Zeus, one made by Leochares [1] and one called Polieus (*Urban*), the customary mode of sacrificing to whom I will give without adding the traditional reason thereof. Upon the altar of Zeus Polieus they place barley mixed with wheat and leave it unguarded. The ox, which they keep already prepared for sacrifice, goes to the altar and partakes of the grain. One of the priests they call the ox-slayer, who kills the ox and then, casting aside the axe here according to the ritual, runs away. The others bring the axe to trial, as though they know not the man who did the deed.

Their ritual, then, is such as I have described. As you enter the temple that they name the Parthenon, all the sculptures you see on what is called the pediment refer to the birth of Athena, those on the rear pediment represent the contest for the land between Athena and Poseidon. The statue itself is made of ivory and gold. On the middle of her helmet is placed a likeness of the Sphinx—the tale of the Sphinx I will give when I come to my description of Boeotia—and on either side of the helmet

[1] See p. 5.

6 πές εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι. τούτους τοὺς γρῦπας ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἀριστέας ὁ Προκοννήσιος μάχεσθαι περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ φησιν Ἀριμασποῖς τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰσσηδόνων· τὸν δὲ χρυσόν, ὃν φυλάσσουσιν οἱ γρῦπες, ἀνιέναι τὴν γῆν· εἶναι δὲ Ἀριμασποὺς μὲν ἄνδρας μονοφθάλμους πάντας ἐκ γενετῆς, γρῦπας δὲ θηρία λέουσιν εἰκασμένα, πτερὰ δὲ ἔχειν καὶ στόμα ἀετοῦ. καὶ γρυπῶν
7 μὲν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀρθόν ἐστιν ἐν χιτῶνι ποδήρει καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ στέρνον ἡ κεφαλὴ Μεδούσης ἐλέφαντός ἐστιν ἐμπεποιημένη· καὶ Νίκην τε ὅσον τεσσάρων πηχῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ[1] δόρυ ἔχει, καὶ οἱ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀσπίς τε κεῖται καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δόρατος δράκων ἐστίν· εἴη δ' ἂν Ἐριχθόνιος οὗτος ὁ δράκων. ἔστι δὲ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐπειργασμένη Πανδώρας γένεσις. πεποίηται δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ τε καὶ ἄλλοις ὡς ἡ Πανδώρα γένοιτο αὕτη γυνὴ πρώτη· πρὶν δὲ ἢ γενέσθαι Πανδώραν οὐκ ἦν πω γυναικῶν γένος. ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνα ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως μόνου, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον Ἰφικράτους ἀποδειξαμένου πολλά τε καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα.

8 Τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστι πέραν Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα λέγουσι Φειδίαν ποιῆσαι· Παρνόπιον δὲ καλοῦσιν, ὅτι σφίσι παρνόπων βλαπτόντων τὴν γῆν ἀποτρέψειν ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἀπέτρεψεν ἴσασι, τρόπῳ δὲ οὐ λέγουσι ποίῳ. τρὶς δὲ αὐτὸς ἤδη πάρνοπας ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους οὐ κατὰ ταὐτὰ οἶδα φθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσε βίαιος ἐμπεσὼν ἄνεμος,

[1] τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ Walz.

are griffins in relief. These griffins, Aristeas[1] of Proconnesus says in his poem, fight for the gold with the Arimaspi beyond the Issedones. The gold which the griffins guard, he says, comes out of the earth; the Arimaspi are men all born with one eye; griffins are beasts like lions, but with the beak and wings of an eagle. I will say no more about the griffins. The statue of Athena is upright, with a tunic reaching to the feet, and on her breast the head of Medusa is worked in ivory. She holds a statue of Victory about four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear; at her feet lies a shield and near the spear is a serpent. This serpent would be Erichthonius. On the pedestal is the birth of Pandora in relief. Hesiod and others have sung how this Pandora was the first woman; before Pandora was born there was as yet no womankind. The only portrait statue I remember seeing here is one of the emperor Hadrian, and at the entrance one of Iphicrates,[2] who accomplished many remarkable achievements.

Opposite the temple is a bronze Apollo, said to be the work of Pheidias. They call it the Locust God, because once when locusts were devastating the land the god said that he would drive them from Attica. That he did drive them away they know, but they do not say how. I myself know that locusts have been destroyed three times in the past on Mount Sipylus, and not in the same way. Once a gale arose and swept them away; on another occa-

[1] An early Greek traveller and writer.
[2] A famous Athenian soldier. *fl.* 390 B.C.

τοὺς δὲ ὕσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ καῦμα ἰσχυρὸν καθεῖλεν ἐπιλαβόν, οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ ῥίγει καταληφθέντες ἀπώλοντο.

XXV. Τοιαῦτα μὲν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνοντα εἶδον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει καὶ Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ αὐτὸς Ξάνθιππος, ὃς ἐναυμάχησεν ἐπὶ Μυκάλῃ Μήδοις. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Περικλέους ἀνδριὰς ἑτέρωθι ἀνάκειται, τοῦ δὲ Ξανθίππου πλησίον ἕστηκεν Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφὼ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας· καί οἱ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστιν οἷον ἄδοντος ἂν ἐν μέθῃ γένοιτο ἀνθρώπου. γυναῖκας δὲ πλησίον Δεινομένης Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου καὶ Καλλιστὼ τὴν Λυκάονος πεποίηκεν, αἷς ἀμφοτέραις ἐστὶν ἐς ἅπαν ὅμοια διηγήματα ἔρως Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας ὀργὴ καὶ ἀλλαγὴ τῇ μὲν ἐς βοῦν, Καλλιστοῖ δὲ ἐς ἄρκτον.

2 Πρὸς δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ Νοτίῳ γιγάντων, οἳ περὶ Θρᾴκην ποτὲ καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Παλλήνης ᾤκησαν, τούτων τὸν λεγόμενον πόλεμον καὶ μάχην πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸ Μαραθῶνι πρὸς Μήδους ἔργον καὶ Γαλατῶν τὴν ἐν Μυσίᾳ φθορὰν ἀνέθηκεν Ἄτταλος, ὅσον τε δύο πηχῶν ἕκαστον. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, μεγέθει τε ὢν ἔπραξε λαβὼν δόξαν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ καιρῷ, φρόνημα ἐν ἀνθρώποις παρασχόμενος συνεχῶς ἐπταικόσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐδὲ ἓν
3 χρηστὸν οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐλπίζουσι. τὸ γὰρ ἀτύχημα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἅπασι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἦρξε κακοῦ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δούλους ἐποίησε τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ Μακεδόνων ἐτάχθη-

sion violent heat came on after rain and destroyed them; the third time sudden cold caught them and they died.

XXV. Such were the fates I saw befall the locusts. On the Athenian Acropolis is a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, and one of Xanthippus himself, who fought against the Persians at the naval battle of Mycale. But that of Pericles stands apart, while near Xanthippus stands Anacreon of Teos, the first poet after Sappho of Lesbos to devote himself to love songs, and his posture is as it were that of a man singing when he is drunk. Deinomenes made the two female figures which stand near, Io, the daughter of Inachus, and Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, of both of whom exactly the same story is told, to wit, love of Zeus, wrath of Hera, and metamorphosis, Io becoming a cow and Callisto a bear.

479 B.C.

fl. 400 B.C.

By the south wall are represented the legendary war with the giants, who once dwelt about Thrace and on the isthmus of Pallene, the battle between the Athenians and the Amazons, the engagement with the Persians at Marathon and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia.[1] Each is about two cubits, and all were dedicated by Attalus. There stands too Olympiodorus, who won fame for the greatness of his achievements, especially in the crisis when he displayed a brave confidence among men who had met with continuous reverses, and were therefore in despair of winning a single success in the days to come. For the disaster at Chaeronea was the beginning of misfortune for all the Greeks, and especially did it enslave those who had been blind to the

338 B.C.

[1] See p. 23.

σαν. τὰς μὲν δὴ πολλὰς Φίλιππος τῶν πόλεων εἶλεν, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ λόγῳ συνθέμενος ἔργῳ σφᾶς μάλιστα ἐκάκωσε, νήσους τε ἀφελόμενος καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ναυτικὰ παύσας ἀρχῆς. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ἡσύχασαν Ἀθηναῖοι Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου· τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνες μὲν βασιλεύειν εἵλοντο Ἀριδαῖον, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ πᾶσα ἀρχή, καὶ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκέτι ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο εἰ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἔσται ἐπὶ Μακεδόσι τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἀλλ' αὐτοί τε πολεμεῖν ὥρμηντο καὶ
4 ἄλλους ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἤγειρον. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ μετασχοῦσαι πόλεις Πελοποννησίων μὲν Ἄργος Ἐπίδαυρος Σικυὼν Τροιζὴν Ἠλεῖοι Φλιάσιοι Μεσσήνη, οἱ δὲ ἔξω τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ Λοκροὶ Φωκεῖς Θεσσαλοὶ Κάρυστος Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν συντελοῦντες· Βοιωτοὶ δὲ Θηβαίων ἠρημωμένην τὴν γῆν τὴν Θηβαΐδα νεμόμενοι δέει μὴ Θήβας αὖθις Ἀθηναῖοί σφισιν ἐποικίζωσιν οὔτε ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ ἐς ὅσον
5 ἦκον δυνάμεως τὰ Μακεδόνων ἠῦξον. τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ταχθέντας κατὰ πόλεις τε ἑκάστους ἦγον στρατηγοὶ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἄρχειν ᾑρητο Ἀθηναῖος Λεωσθένης πόλεώς τε ἀξιώματι καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι δοκῶν πολέμων ἔμπειρος. ὑπῆρχε δέ οἱ καὶ πρὸς πάντας εὐεργεσία τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὁπόσοι γὰρ μισθοῦ παρὰ Δαρείῳ καὶ σατράπαις ἐστρατεύοντο Ἕλληνες, ἀνοικίσαι σφᾶς ἐς τὴν Περσίδα θελήσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Λεωσθένης

danger and such as had sided with Macedon. Most of their cities Philip captured; with Athens he nominally came to terms, but really imposed the severest penalties upon her, taking away the islands and putting an end to her maritime empire. For a time the Athenians remained passive, during the reign of Philip and subsequently of Alexander. But when on the death of Alexander the Macedonians chose Aridaeus to be their king, though the whole empire had been entrusted to Antipater, the Athenians now thought it intolerable if Greece should be for ever under the Macedonians, and themselves embarked on war besides inciting others to join them. The cities that took part were, of the Peloponnesians, Argos, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Troezen, the Eleans, the Phliasians, Messene; on the other side of the Corinthian isthmus the Locrians, the Phocians, the Thessalians, Carystus, the Acarnanians belonging to the Aetolian League. The Boeotians, who occupied the Thebaid territory now that there were no Thebans left to dwell there, in fear lest the Athenians should injure them by founding a settlement on the site of Thebes, refused to join the alliance and lent all their forces to furthering the Macedonian cause. Each city ranged under the alliance had its own general, but as commander-in-chief was chosen the Athenian Leosthenes, both because of the fame of his city and also because he had the reputation of being an experienced soldier. He had already proved himself a general benefactor of Greece. All the Greeks that were serving as mercenaries in the armies of Darius and his satraps Alexander had wished to deport to Persia, but Leosthenes was too quick for

ἔφθη κομίσας ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ὢν ἐς αὐτὸν ἤλπισαν ἔργα λαμπρότερα ἐπιδειξάμενος πιρέσχεν ἀποθανὼν ἀθυμῆσαι πᾶσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐχ ἥκιστα σφαλῆναι· φρουρά τε Μακεδόνων ἐσῆλθεν Ἀθηναίοις, οἳ Μουνυχίαν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Πειραιᾶ καὶ τείχη μακρὰ ἔσχον.

6 Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ὀλυμπιὰς διαβᾶσα ἐξ Ἠπείρου χρόνον μέν τινα ἦρξεν ἀποκτείνασα Ἀριδαῖον, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκπολιορκηθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παρεδόθη τῷ πλήθει. Κάσσανδρος δὲ βασιλεύσας—τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐπέξεισί μοι μόνα ὁ λόγος—Πάνακτον τεῖχος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ Σαλαμῖνα εἶλε τύραννόν τε Ἀθηναίοις ἔπραξε γενέσθαι Δημήτριον τὸν Φανοστράτου, δόξαν εἰληφότα ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τυραννίδος ἔπαυσε Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀντιγόνου, νέος τε ὢν καὶ φιλοτίμως πρὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν διά-

7 κείμενος· Κάσσανδρος δὲ—δεινὸν γάρ τι ὑπῆν οἱ μῖσος ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους—, ὁ δὲ αὖθις Λαχάρην προεστηκότα ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ δήμου, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα οἰκειωσάμενος τυραννίδα ἔπεισε βουλεῦσαι, τυράννων ὧν ἴσμεν τά τε ἐς ἀνθρώπους μάλιστα ἀνήμερον καὶ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀφειδέστατον. Δημητρίῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀντιγόνου διαφορὰ μὲν ἦν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἤδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καθεῖλε δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὴν Λαχάρους τυραννίδα· ἁλισκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκει Λαχάρης ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἅτε δὲ ἀσπίδας ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως καθελὼν χρυσᾶς καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸν περιαιρετὸν ἀποδύσας κόσμον ὑπωπτεύετο εὐπορεῖν μεγάλως

8 χρημάτων. Λαχάρην μὲν οὖν τούτων ἕνεκα

him, and brought them by sea to Europe. On this occasion too his brilliant actions surpassed expectation, and his death produced a general despair which was chiefly responsible for the defeat. A Macedonian garrison was set over the Athenians, and occupied first 322 B.C. Munychia and afterwards Peiraeus also and the Long Walls. On the death of Antipater Olympias came over from Epeirus, killed Aridaeus, and for a time occupied the throne; but shortly afterwards she was besieged by Cassander, taken and delivered up to the people. Of the acts of Cassander when he came to the throne my narrative will deal only with such as concern the Athenians. He seized the fort of Panactum in Attica and also Salamis, and established as tyrant in Athens Demetrius the son of Phanostratus, a man who had won a reputation for wisdom. This tyrant was put down by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, a young man of strong Greek sympathies. But Cassander, inspired by a deep hatred of the Athenians, made a friend of Lachares, who up to now had been the popular champion, and induced him also to arrange a tyranny. We know no tyrant who proved so cruel to man and so impious to the gods. Although Demetrius the son of Antigonus was now at variance with the Athenian people, he notwithstanding deposed Lachares too from his tyranny, who, on the capture of the fortifications, escaped to Boeotia. Lachares took golden shields from the Acropolis, and stripped even the statue of Athena of its removable ornament; he was accordingly suspected of being a very wealthy man, and was murdered by some men of

κτείνουσιν ἄνδρες Κορωναῖοι· Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ
Ἀντιγόνου τυράννων ἐλευθερώσας Ἀθηναίους τό
τε παραυτίκα μετὰ τὴν Λαχάρους φυγὴν οὐκ
ἀπέδωκέ σφισι τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ὕστερον πολέμῳ
κρατήσας ἐσήγαγεν ἐς αὐτὸ φρουρὰν τὸ ἄστυ, τὸ
Μουσεῖον καλούμενον τειχίσας. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ
περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου τὸ Μουσεῖον ἀπαντικρὺ
τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λόφος, ἔνθα Μουσαῖον ᾄδειν
καὶ ἀποθανόντα γήρᾳ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν· ὕστερον
δὲ καὶ μνῆμα αὐτόθι ἀνδρὶ ᾠκοδομήθη Σύρῳ.
τότε δὲ Δημήτριος τειχίσας εἶχε· XXVI. χρόνῳ
δὲ ὕστερον ἄνδρας ἐσῆλθεν οὐ πολλοὺς μνήμη
τε προγόνων καὶ ἐς οἵαν μεταβολὴν τὸ ἀξί-
ωμα ἥκοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτίκα τε ὡς εἶχον
αἱροῦνται στρατηγὸν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον. ὁ δὲ σφᾶς
ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἦγε καὶ γέροντας καὶ μει-
ράκια ὁμοίως, προθυμίᾳ πλέον ἢ ῥώμῃ κατορ-
θοῦσθαι τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐλπίζων· ἐπεξελθόντας δὲ
τοὺς Μακεδόνας μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ φυγόντων
2 ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον τὸ χωρίον εἷλεν. Ἀθῆναι μὲν
οὕτως ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἠλευθερώθησαν, Ἀθηναίων
δὲ πάντων ἀγωνισαμένων ἀξίως λόγου Λεώκριτος
μάλιστα ὁ Πρωτάρχου λέγεται τόλμῃ χρήσασθαι
πρὸς τὸ ἔργον· πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος
ἀνέβη, πρῶτος δὲ ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον ἐσήλατο, καί
οἱ πεσόντι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τιμαὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ
ἄλλαι γεγόνασι καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Διὶ
τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Λεωκρίτου καὶ τὸ
3 κατόρθωμα ἐπιγράψαντες. Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ δὲ
τόδε μέν ἐστιν ἔργον μέγιστον χωρὶς τούτων ὧν
ἔπραξε Πειραιᾶ καὶ Μουνυχίαν ἀνασωσάμενος·
ποιουμένων δὲ Μακεδόνων καταδρομὴν ἐς Ἐλευ-

Coronea for the sake of this wealth. After freeing the Athenians from tyrants Demetrius the son of Antigonus did not restore the Peiraeus to them immediately after the flight of Lachares, but subsequently overcame them and brought a garrison even into the upper city, fortifying the place called the Museum. This is a hill right opposite the Acropolis within the old city boundaries, where legend says Musaeus used to sing, and, dying of old age, was buried. Afterwards a monument also was erected here to a Syrian. At the time to which I refer Demetrius fortified and held it. XXVI. But afterwards a few men called to mind their forefathers, and the contrast between their present position and the ancient glory of Athens, and without more ado forthwith elected Olympiodorus to be their general. He led them against the Macedonians, both the old men and the youths, and trusted for military success more to enthusiasm than to strength. The Macedonians came out to meet him, but he overcame them, pursued them to the Museum, and captured the position. So Athens was delivered from the Macedonians, and though all the Athenians fought memorably, Leocritus the son of Protarchus is said to have displayed most daring in the engagement. For he was the first to scale the fortification, and the first to rush into the Museum; and when he fell fighting, the Athenians did him great honour, dedicating his shield to Zeus of Freedom and inscribing on it the name of Leocritus and his exploit. This is the greatest achievement of Olympiodorus, not to mention his success in recovering Peiraeus and Munychia; and again, when the Macedonians were 283 B.C.

σῖνα Ἐλευσινίους συντάξας ἐνίκα τοὺς Μακεδόνας. πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τούτων ἐσβαλόντος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Κασσάνδρου πλεύσας Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ἐς Αἰτωλίαν βοηθεῖν Αἰτωλοὺς ἔπεισε, καὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν τοῦτο ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις αἴτιον μάλιστα διαφυγεῖν τὸν Κασσάνδρου πόλεμον. Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Ἀθήναις εἰσὶν ἔν τε ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἐν πρυτανείῳ τιμαί, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι γραφή· καὶ Φωκέων οἱ Ἐλάτειαν ἔχοντες χαλκοῦν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνέθεσαν, ὅτι καὶ τούτοις ἤμυνεν ἀποστᾶσι Κασσάνδρου.

1 Τῆς δὲ εἰκόνος πλησίον τῆς Ὀλυμπιοδώρου χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἔστηκεν ἐπίκλησιν Λευκοφρύνης, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους· Μάγνητες γάρ, ὧν ἦρχε Θεμιστοκλῆς λαβὼν παρὰ βασιλέως, Λευκοφρύνην Ἄρτεμιν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ.

Δεῖ δέ με ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά. Ἔνδοιος ἦν γένος μὲν Ἀθηναῖος, Δαιδάλου δὲ μαθητής, ὃς καὶ φεύγοντι Δαιδάλῳ διὰ τὸν Κάλω θάνατον ἐπηκολούθησεν ἐς Κρήτην· τούτου καθήμενόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον ὡς Καλ-
5 λίας μὲν ἀναθείη, ποιήσειε δὲ Ἔνδοιος.—ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἴκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον· πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου Διός ἐστι βωμὸς Ὑπάτου, ἔνθα ἔμψυχον θύουσιν οὐδέν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες οὐδὲν ἔτι οἴνῳ χρήσασθαι νομίζουσιν. ἐσελθοῦσι δέ εἰσι βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἐρεχθεῖ θύουσιν ἔκ του μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ἡφαίστου· γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ

raiding Eleusis he collected a force of Eleusinians and defeated the invaders. Still earlier than this, when Cassander had invaded Attica, Olympiodorus sailed to Aetolia and induced the Aetolians to help. This allied force was the main reason why the Athenians escaped war with Cassander. Olympiodorus has not only honours at Athens, both on the Acropolis and in the town hall, but also a portrait at Eleusis. The Phocians too of Elatea dedicated at Delphi a bronze statue of Olympiodorus for help in their revolt from Cassander.

Near the statue of Olympiodorus stands a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Leucophryne, dedicated by the sons of Themistocles; for the Magnesians, whose city the King had given him to rule, hold Artemis Leucophryne in honour.

But my narrative must not loiter, as my task is a general description of all Greece. Endoeus was an Athenian by birth and a pupil of Daedalus, who also, when Daedalus was in exile because of the death of Calos, followed him to Crete. Made by him is a statue of Athena seated, with an inscription that Callias dedicated the image, but Endoeus made it. There is also a building called the Erechtheum. Before the entrance is an altar of Zeus the Most High, on which they never sacrifice a living creature, but offer cakes, not being wont to use any wine either. Inside the entrance are altars, one to Poseidon, on which in obedience to an oracle they sacrifice also to Erechtheus, the second to the hero Butes, and the third to Hephaestus. On the walls are paintings

fl. 540 B.C.

τοῦ Βουταδῶν καὶ—διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἴκημα —ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἔνδον θαλάσσιον ἐν φρέατι. τοῦτο μὲν θαῦμα οὐ μέγα· καὶ γὰρ ὅσοι μεσόγαιαν οἰκοῦσιν, ἄλλοις τε ἔστι καὶ Καρσὶν Ἀφροδισιεῦσιν· ἀλλὰ τόδε τὸ φρέαρ ἐς συγγραφὴν παρέχεται κυμάτων ἦχον ἐπὶ νότῳ πνεύσαντι. καὶ τριαίνης ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ σχῆμα· ταῦτα δὲ λέγεται Ποσειδῶνι μαρτύρια ἐς τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν τῆς χώρας φανῆναι.

6 Ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστιν ἥ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ὁμοίως γῆ—καὶ γὰρ ὅσοις θεοὺς καθέστηκεν ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς δήμοις σέβειν, οὐδέν τι ἧσσον τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ—, τὸ δὲ ἁγιώτατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς πρότερον νομισθὲν ἕτεσιν ἢ συνῆλθον ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει, τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένῃ πόλει· φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπέξειμι εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει, λύχνον δὲ τῇ θεῷ χρυσοῦν
7 Καλλίμαχος ἐποίησεν· ἐμπλήσαντες δὲ ἐλαίου τὸν λύχνον τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους ἀναμένουσιν ἡμέραν, ἔλαιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸν μεταξὺ ἐπαρκεῖ χρόνον τῷ λύχνῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ φαίνοντι. καί οἱ λίνου Καρπασίου θρυαλλὶς ἔνεστιν, ὃ δὴ πυρὶ λίνων μόνον οὐκ ἔστιν ἁλώσιμον· φοίνιξ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λύχνου χαλκοῦς ἀνήκων ἐς τὸν ὄροφον ἀναspᾷ τὴν ἀτμίδα. ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ὁ τὸν λύχνον ποιήσας, ἀποδέων τῶν πρώτων ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τέχνην, οὕτω σοφίᾳ πάντων ἐστὶν ἄριστος ὥστε καὶ λίθους πρῶτος ἐτρύπησε καὶ ὄνομα ἔθετο κατατηξίτεχνον, ἢ θεμένων ἄλλων κατέστησεν ἐφ' αὑτῷ.

representing members of the clan Butadae; there is also inside—the building is double—sea-water in a cistern. This is no great marvel, for other inland regions have similar wells, in particular Aphrodisias in Caria. But this cistern is remarkable for the noise of waves it sends forth when a south wind blows. On the rock is the outline of a trident. Legend says that these appeared as evidence in support of Poseidon's claim to the land.

Both the city and the whole of the land are alike sacred to Athena; for even those who in their parishes have an established worship of other gods nevertheless hold Athena in honour. But the most holy symbol, that was so considered by all many years before the unification of the parishes, is the image of Athena which is on what is now called the Acropolis, but in early days the Polis (*City*). A legend concerning it says that it fell from heaven; whether this is true or not I shall not discuss. A golden lamp for the goddess was made by Callimachus. Having filled the lamp with oil, they wait until the same day next year, and the oil is sufficient for the lamp during the interval, although it is alight both day and night. The wick in it is of Carpasian flax,[1] the only kind of flax which is fire-proof, and a bronze palm above the lamp reaches to the roof and draws off the smoke. The Callimachus who made the lamp, although not of the first rank of artists, was yet of unparalleled cleverness, so that he was the first to drill holes through stones, and gave himself the title of Refiner of Art, or perhaps others gave the title and he adopted it as his.

fl. 400 B.C.?

[1] Probably asbestos.

XXVII. Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον. ἀναθήματα δὲ ὁπόσα ἄξια λόγου, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων δίφρος ὀκλαδίας ἐστὶ Δαιδάλου ποίημα, λάφυρα δὲ ἀπὸ Μήδων Μασιστίου θώραξ, ὃς εἶχεν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἀκινάκης Μαρδονίου λεγόμενος εἶναι. Μασίστιον μὲν δὴ τελευτήσαντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα ἱππέων· Μαρδονίου δὲ μαχεσαμένου Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐναντία καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου πεσόντος οὐδ' ἂν ὑπεδέξαντο ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἴσως Ἀθηναίοις παρῆκαν φέρεσθαι
2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν ἀκινάκην. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίας οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄλλο εἰπεῖν ἢ τῇ θεῷ μαρτύριον γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ· λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε, κατακαυθῆναι μὲν τὴν ἐλαίαν, ἡνίκα ὁ Μῆδος τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν Ἀθηναίοις, κατακαυθεῖσαν δὲ αὐθημερὸν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο βλαστῆσαι πήχεις.

Τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχής ἐστι· καὶ ἔστι Πάνδροσος ἐς τὴν παρακατα-
3 θήκην ἀναίτιος τῶν ἀδελφῶν μύνη. ἃ δέ μοι θαυμάσαι μάλιστα παρέσχεν, ἔστι μὲν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας γνώριμα, γράψω δὲ οἷα συμβαίνει. παρθένοι δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους· αὗται χρόνον μέν τινα δίαιταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς δρῶσιν ἐν νυκτὶ τοιάδε. ἀναθεῖσαί σφισιν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἃ ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια δίδωσι φέρειν, οὔτε ἡ διδοῦσα ὁποῖόν τι δίδωσιν εἰδυῖα οὔτε ταῖς φερούσαις ἐπισταμέναις—ἔστι δὲ περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς

XXVII. In the temple of Athena Polias (*Of the City*) is a wooden Hermes, said to have been dedicated by Cecrops, but not visible because of myrtle boughs. The votive offerings worth noting are, of the old ones, a folding chair made by Daedalus, Persian spoils, namely the breastplate of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Plataea, and a scimitar said to 479 B.C. have belonged to Mardonius. Now Masistius I know was killed by the Athenian cavalry. But Mardonius was opposed by the Lacedaemonians and was killed by a Spartan; so the Athenians could not have taken the scimitar to begin with, and furthermore the Lacedaemonians would scarcely have suffered them to carry it off. About the olive they have nothing to say except that it was testimony the goddess produced when she contended for their land. Legend also says that when the Persians fired Athens the olive was burnt down, but on the very day it was burnt it grew again to the height of two cubits.

Adjoining the temple of Athena is the temple of Pandrosus, the only one of the sisters to be faithful to the trust. I was much amazed at something which is not generally known, and so I will describe the circumstances. Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of Athena Polias, called by the Athenians Bearers of the Sacred Offerings. For a time they live with the goddess, but when the festival comes round they perform at night the following rites. Having placed on their heads what the priestess of Athena gives them to carry—neither she who gives nor they who carry have any knowledge what it is—the maidens descend by the natural underground passage that goes

καλουμένης ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω καὶ
δι' αὐτοῦ κάθοδος ὑπόγαιος αὐτομάτη—, ταύτῃ
κατίασιν αἱ παρθένοι. κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φερόμενα
λείπουσιν, λαβοῦσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐγ-
κεκαλυμμένον· καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀφιᾶσιν ἤδη τὸ ἐν-
τεῦθεν, ἑτέρας δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρθένους
4 ἄγουσιν ἀντ' αὐτῶν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθη-
νᾶς ἔστι μὲν εὐήρις[1] πρεσβῦτις ὅσον τε πήχεος
μάλιστα, φαμένη διάκονος εἶναι Λυσιμάχης, ἔστι
δὲ ἀγάλματα μεγάλα χαλκοῦ διεστῶτες ἄνδρες
ἐς μάχην· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἐρεχθέα καλοῦσι, τὸν δὲ
Εὔμολπον· καίτοι λέληθέ γε οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίων ὅσοι
τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴασιν, Ἰμμάραδον εἶναι παῖδα Εὐ-
μόλπου τοῦτον τὸν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Ἐρεχθέως.
5 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βάθρου καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶ Θεαίνετος
ὃς ἐμαντεύετο Τολμίδῃ καὶ αὐτὸς Τολμίδης, ὃς
Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν ἡγούμενος ἄλλους τε ἐκάκωσε
καὶ Πελοποννησίων τὴν χώραν ὅσοι νέμονται τὴν
παραλίαν, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ Γυθίῳ τὰ
νεώρια ἐνέπρησε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Βοιὰς εἷλε
καὶ τὴν Κυθηρίων νῆσον· ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικυωνίαν
ποιησάμενος ἀπόβασιν, ὡς οἱ δῃοῦντι τὴν γῆν ἐς
μάχην κατέστησαν, τρεψάμενος σφᾶς κατεδίωξε
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. ὕστερον δὲ ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς
Ἀθήνας, ἐσήγαγε μὲν ἐς Εὔβοιαν καὶ Νάξον
Ἀθηναίων κληρούχους, ἐσέβαλε δὲ ἐς Βοιωτοὺς
στρατῷ· πορθήσας δὲ τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλὴν καὶ
παραστησάμενος πολιορκίᾳ Χαιρώνειαν, ὡς ἐς
τὴν Ἁλιαρτίαν προῆλθεν, αὐτός τε μαχόμενος
ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἤδη στράτευμα ἡττᾶτο. τὰ
6 μὲν ἐς Τολμίδην τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδευόμενα ὄντα. ἔστι

[1] The reading here is corrupt.

across the adjacent precincts, within the city, of Aphrodite in the Gardens. They leave down below what they carry, and receive something else which they bring back covered up. These maidens they henceforth let go free, and take up to the Acropolis others in their place. By the temple of Athena is . . . . an old woman about a cubit high, the inscription calling her a handmaid of Lysimache, and large bronze figures of men facing each other for a fight, one of whom they call Erechtheus, the other Eumolpus; and yet those Athenians who are acquainted with antiquity must surely know that this victim of Erechtheus was Immaradus, the son of Eumolpus. On the pedestal are also statues of Theaenetus, who was seer to Tolmides, and of Tolmides himself, who when in command of the Athenian fleet inflicted severe damage upon the enemy, especially upon the Peloponnesians who dwell along the coast, burnt the dock-yards at Gythium and captured Boeae, belonging to the "provincials," and the island of Cythera. He made a descent on Sicyonia, and, attacked by the citizens as he was laying waste the country, he put them to flight and chased them to the city. Returning afterwards to Athens, he conducted Athenian colonists to Euboea and Naxos and invaded Boeotia with an army. Having ravaged the greater part of the land and reduced Chaeronea by a siege, he advanced into the territory of Haliartus, where he was killed in battle and all his army worsted. Such was the history of Tolmides that I learnt. There are also old figures of Athena, no

447 B.C.

δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα· καί σφισιν ἀπετάκη μὲν οὐδέν, μελάντερα δὲ καὶ πληγὴν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐστιν ἀσθενέστερα· ἐπέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἡ φλόξ, ὅτε ἐσβεβηκότων ἐς τὰς ναῦς Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς εἶλεν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὴν πόλιν. ἔστι δὲ συός τε θήρα, περὶ οὗ σαφὲς οὐδὲν οἶδα εἰ τοῦ Καλυδωνίου, καὶ Κύκνος Ἡρακλεῖ μαχόμενος· τοῦτον τὸν Κύκνον φασὶν ἄλλους τε φονεῦσαι καὶ Λύκον Θρᾷκα προτεθέντων σφίσι μονομαχίας ἄθλων, περὶ δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ηηνειὸν ἀπέθανεν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους.

7 Τῶν δὲ ἐν Τροιζῆνι λόγων, οὓς ἐς Θησέα λέγουσιν, ἐστὶν ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἐλθὼν παρὰ Πιτθέα καταθεῖτο[1] ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τοῦ λέοντος τὸ δέρμα, ἐσέλθοιεν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι τε Τροιζηνίων παῖδες καὶ Θησεὺς ἕβδομον μάλιστα γεγονὼς ἔτος· τοὺς μὲν δὴ λοιποὺς παῖδας, ὡς τὸ δέρμα εἶδον, φεύγοντάς φασιν αἴχεσθαι, Θησέα δὲ ὑπεξελθόντα οὐκ ἄγαν σὺν φόβῳ παρὰ τῶν διακόνων ἁρπάσαι πέλεκυν καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπιέναι σπουδῇ, λέοντα εἶναι τὸ δέρμα ἡγούμενον.

8 ὅδε μὲν τῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐς αὐτόν ἐστι Τροιζηνίοις· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, κρηπῖδας Αἰγέα ὑπὸ πέτρᾳ καὶ ξίφος θεῖναι γνωρίσματα εἶναι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποπλεῖν, Θησέα δέ, ὡς ἕκτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐγεγόνει, τὴν πέτραν ἀνώσαντα οἴχεσθαι τὴν παρακαταθήκην τὴν Αἰγέως φέροντα. τούτου δὲ εἰκὼν ἐν ἀκροπόλει πεποίηται τοῦ λόγου, χαλκοῦ πάντα ὁμοίως

9 πλὴν τῆς πέτρας· ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο Θησέως ἔργον, καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει. Κρησὶ

[1] κατάθοιτο, emended by Porson.

limbs of which indeed are missing, but they are rather black and too fragile to bear a blow. For they too were caught by the flames when the Athenians had gone on board their ships and the King captured the city emptied of its able-bodied inhabitants. There is also a boar-hunt (I do not know for certain whether it is the Calydonian boar) and Cycnus fighting with Heracles. This Cycnus is said to have killed, among others, Lycus a Thracian, a prize having been proposed for the winner of the duel, but near the river Peneius he was himself killed by Heracles.

One of the Troezenian legends about Theseus is the following. When Heracles visited Pittheus at Troezen, he laid aside his lion's skin to eat his dinner, and there came in to see him some Troezenian children with Theseus, then about seven years of age. The story goes that when they saw the skin the other children ran away, but Theseus slipped out not much afraid, seized an axe from the servants and straightway attacked the skin in earnest, thinking it to be a lion. This is the first Troezenian legend about Theseus. The next is that Aegeus placed boots and a sword under a rock as tokens for the child, and then sailed away to Athens; Theseus, when sixteen years old, pushed the rock away and departed, taking what Aegeus had deposited. There is a representation of this legend on the Acropolis, everything in bronze except the rock. Another deed of Theseus they have represented in an offering, and the story about it is as follows:—The land of the Cretans and especially that

τήν τε ἄλλην γῆν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τεθρίνι ταῦρος ἐλυμαίνετο. πάλαι δὲ ἄρα τὰ θηρία φοβερώτερα ἦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ὅ τ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ λέων καὶ ὁ Παρνάσσιος καὶ δράκοντες τῆς Ἑλλάδος πολλαχοῦ καὶ ὗς περί τε Καλυδῶνα καὶ Ἐρύμανθον καὶ τῆς Κορινθίας ἐν Κρομυῶνι, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέγετο τὰ μὲν ἀνιέναι τὴν γῆν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἱερὰ εἴη θεῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώπων ἀφεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον οἱ Κρῆτες τὸν ταῦρον ἐς τὴν γῆν πέμψαι σφίσι Ποσειδῶνά φασιν, ὅτι θαλάσσης ἄρχων Μίνως τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς οὐδενὸς Ποσειδῶνα ἦγεν ἄλλου θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἐν τιμῇ. κομισθῆναι μὲν δὴ τὸν ταῦρον τοῦτόν φασιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν δώδεκα καλουμένων ἕνα καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὸν ἆθλον· ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἀφείθη τὸ Ἀργείων, φεύγει διὰ τοῦ Κορινθίου ἰσθμοῦ, φεύγει δὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς δῆμον τὸν Μαραθωνίων, καὶ ἄλλους τε ὁπόσοις ἐπέτυχε καὶ Μίνω παῖδα Ἀνδρόγεων ἀπέκτεινε. Μίνως δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας πλεύσας —οὐ γὰρ ἐπείθετο ἀναιτίους εἶναι σφᾶς τῆς Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτῆς— ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκάκωσεν, ἐς ὃ συνεχωρήθη οἱ παρθένους ἐς Κρήτην ἑπτὰ καὶ παῖδας ἴσους ἄγειν τῷ λεγομένῳ Μίνω ταύρῳ τὸν ἐν Κνωσσῷ Λαβυρινθον οἰκῆσαι· τὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι ταῦρον ὕστερον Θησεὺς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐλάσαι καὶ θῦσαι λέγεται τῇ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ἀνάθημά ἐστι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Μαραθωνίων.

XXVIII. Κύλωνα δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω σαφὲς εἰπεῖν ἐφ' ὅτῳ χαλκοῦν ἀνέθεσαν τυραννίδα ὅμως βουλεύσαντα· τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῶνδε ἕνεκα, ὅτι εἶδος

by the river Tethris was ravaged by a bull. It would seem that in the days of old the beasts were much more formidable to men, for example the Nemean lion, the lion of Parnassus, the serpents in many parts of Greece, and the boars of Calydon, Erymanthus and Crommyon in the land of Corinth, so that it was said that some were sent up by the earth, that others were sacred to the gods, while others had been let loose to punish mankind. And so the Cretans say that this bull was sent by Poseidon to their land because, although Minos was lord of the Greek Sea, he did not worship Poseidon more than any other god. They say that this bull crossed from Crete to the Peloponnesus, and came to be one of what are called the Twelve Labours of Heracles. When he was let loose on the Argive plain he fled through the isthmus of Corinth, into the land of Attica as far as the Attic parish of Marathon, killing all he met, including Androgeos, son of Minos. Minos sailed against Athens with a fleet, not believing that the Athenians were innocent of the death of Androgeos, and sorely harassed them until it was agreed that he should take seven maidens and seven boys for the Minotaur that was said to dwell in the Labyrinth at Cnossus. But the bull at Marathon Theseus is said to have driven afterwards to the Acropolis and to have sacrificed to the goddess; the offering commemorating this deed was dedicated by the parish of Marathon.

XXVIII. Why they set up a bronze statue of Cylon, in spite of his plotting a tyranny, I cannot say for certain; but I infer that it was because he 632 B.C.

κάλλιστος καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀφανὴς
ἀιελόμενος διαύλου νίκην Ὀλυμπικὴν καί οἱ
θυγατέρα ὑπῆρξε γῆμαι Θεαγένους, ὃς Μεγάρων
2 ἐτυράννησε. χωρὶς δὲ ἢ ὅσα κατέλεξα δύο μὲν
Ἀθηναίοις εἰσὶ δεκάται πολεμήσασιν, ἄγαλμα
Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Μήδων τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα
ἀποβάντων τέχνη Φειδίου—καί οἱ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀσπίδος μάχην Λαπιθῶν πρὸς Κενταύρους καὶ
ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἐπειργασμένα λέγουσι τορεῦσαι
Μῦν, τῷ δὲ Μυῒ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν
ἔργων Παρράσιον καταγράψαι τὸν Εὐήνορος·
ταύτης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἡ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ
λόφος τοῦ κράνους ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέουσίν
ἐστιν ἤδη σύνοπτα —, καὶ ἄρμα κεῖται χαλκοῦν
ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν δεκάτη καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν
Εὐβοίᾳ. δύο δὲ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα, Περι-
κλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν Φειδίου
θέας μάλιστα ἄξιον Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν
3 ἀναθέντων καλουμένης Λημνίας. τῇ δὲ ἀκροπόλει,
πλὴν ὅσον Κίμων ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου,
περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν λέγεται τοῦ τείχους Πε-
λασγοὺς οἰκήσαντάς ποτε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν·
φασὶ γὰρ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον τοὺς οἰκοδο-
μήσαντας εἶναι. πυνθανόμενος δὲ οἵτινες ἦσαν
οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐδυνάμην μαθεῖν ἢ Σικελοὺς τὸ ἐξ
ἀρχῆς ὄντας ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν μετοικῆσαι.
4 Καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἀλλ' ὅσον
ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια πηγή τε ὕδατός ἐστι καὶ
πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ· Κρεούσῃ
δὲ θυγατρὶ Ἐρεχθέως Ἀπόλλωνα ἐνταῦθα συγ-
γενέσθαι νομίζουσι.[1] . . . ὡς πεμφθείη Φιλιππί-

[1] Here there is a gap in the text.

was very beautiful to look upon, and of no undistinguished fame, having won an Olympian victory in the double foot-race, while he had married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. In addition to the works I have mentioned, there are two tithes dedicated by the Athenians after wars. There is first a bronze Athena, tithe from the Persians who landed at Marathon. It is the work of Pheidias, but the reliefs upon the shield, including the fight between Centaurs and Lapithae, are said to be from the chisel of Mys, for whom they say Parrhasius, the son of Evenor, designed this and the rest of his works. The point of the spear of this Athena and the crest of her helmet are visible to those sailing to Athens, as soon as Sunium is passed. Then there is a bronze chariot, tithe from the Boeotians and the Chalcidians in Euboea. There are two other offerings, a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, and the best worth seeing of the works of Pheidias, the statue of Athena called Lemnian after those who dedicated it. All the Acropolis is surrounded by a wall; a part was constructed by Cimon, son of Miltiades, but all the rest is said to have been built round it by the Pelasgians, who once lived under the Acropolis. The builders, they say, were Agrolas and Hyperbius. On inquiring who they were I could discover nothing except that they were Sicilians originally who emigrated to Acarnania.

fl. 480 B.C.

c. 507 B.C.

On descending, not to the lower city, but to just beneath the Gateway, you see a fountain and near it a sanctuary of Apollo in a cave. It is here that Apollo is believed to have met Creüsa, daughter of Erechtheus. . . . when the Persians had landed in

δης ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄγγελος ἀποβεβηκότων Μήδων ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἐπανήκων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὑπερβαλέσθαι φαίη τὴν ἔξοδον, εἶναι γὰρ δὴ νόμον αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον μαχουμένους ἐξιέναι πρὶν ἢ πλήρη τὸν κύκλον τῆς σελήνης γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ Πᾶνα ὁ Φιλιππίδης ἔλεγε περὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐντυχόντα οἱ τὸ Παρθένιον φάναί τε ὡς εὔνους Ἀθηναίοις εἴη καὶ ὅτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἥξει συμμαχήσων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ
5 ἀγγελίᾳ τετίμηται. ἔστι δὲ Ἄρειος πάγος καλούμενος, ὅτι πρῶτος Ἄρης ἐνταῦθα ἐκρίθη, καί μοι καὶ ταῦτα δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ὡς Ἁλιρρόθιον ἀνέλοι καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ κτείνειε. κριθῆναι δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Ὀρέστην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρός· καὶ βωμός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀρείας, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ἀποφυγὼν τὴν δίκην. τοὺς δὲ ἀργοὺς λίθους, ἐφ' ὧν ἑστᾶσιν ὅσοι δίκας ὑπέχουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, τὸν μὲν Ὕβρεως τὸν δὲ Ἀναιδείας αὐτῶν ὀνομάζουσι.

6 Πλησίον δὲ ἱερὸν θεῶν ἐστιν ἃς καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς, Ἡσίοδος δὲ Ἐρινῦς ἐν Θεογονίᾳ. πρῶτος δέ σφισιν Αἰσχύλος δράκοντας ἐποίησεν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ θριξὶν εἶναι· τοῖς δὲ ἀγάλμασιν οὔτε τούτοις ἔπεστιν οὐδὲν φοβερὸν οὔτε ὅσα ἄλλα κεῖται θεῶν τῶν ὑπογαίων. κεῖται δὲ καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα· ἐνταῦθα θύουσι μὲν ὅσοις ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξεγένετο ἀπολύσασθαι, θύουσι δὲ καὶ
7 ἄλλως ξένοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἀστοί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μνῆμα Οἰδίποδος, πολυπραγμονῶν δὲ εὕρισκον τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐκ Θηβῶν κομισθέντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐς τὸν θάνατον Σοφοκλεῖ

Attica Philippides was sent to carry the tidings to Lacedaemon. On his return he said that the Lacedaemonians had postponed their departure, because it was their custom not to go out to fight before the moon was full. Philippides went on to say that near Mount Parthenius he had been met by Pan, who told him that he was friendly to the Athenians and would come to Marathon to fight for them. This deity, then, has been honoured for this announcement. There is also the Hill of Ares, so named because Ares was the first to be tried here; my narrative has already told that he killed Halirrhothius, and what were his grounds for this act. Afterwards, they say, Orestes was tried for killing his mother, and there is an altar to Athena Areia (*Warlike*), which he dedicated on being acquitted. The unhewn stones on which stand the defendants and the prosecutors, they call the stone of Outrage and the stone of Ruthlessness.

Hard by is a sanctuary of the goddesses which the Athenians call the August, but Hesiod in the *Theogony*[1] calls them Erinyes (*Furies*). It was Aeschylus who first represented them with snakes in their hair. But on the images neither of these nor of any of the under-world deities is there anything terrible. There are images of Pluto, Hermes, and Earth, by which sacrifice those who have received an acquittal on the Hill of Ares; sacrifices are also offered on other occasions by both citizens and aliens. Within the precincts is a monument to Oedipus, whose bones, after diligent inquiry, I found were brought from Thebes. The

[1] l. 185.

πεποιημένα τὸν Οἰδίποδος Ὅμηρος οὐκ εἴα μοι δόξαι πιστά, ὃς ἔφη Μηκιστέα τελευτήσαντος Οἰδίποδος ἐπιτάφιον ἐλθόντα ἐς Θήβας ἀγωνίσασθαι.

8 Ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἄλλα δικαστήρια οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτο δόξης ἥκοντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν καλούμενον παράβυστον καὶ τρίγωνον, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀφανεῖ τῆς πόλεως ὂν καὶ ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συνιόντων ἐς αὐτό, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα· βατραχιοῦν δὲ καὶ φοινικιοῦν ἀπὸ χρωμάτων καὶ ἐς τόδε διαμεμένηκεν ὀνομάζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ ἐς ὃ πλεῖστοι συνίασιν, ἡλιαίαν καλοῦσιν. ὁπόσα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς φονεῦσιν, ἔστιν ἄλλα· καὶ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ καλοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν ἀκουσίως κρίσις καθέστηκε. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Δημοφῶν πρῶτος ἐνταῦθα ὑπέσχε δίκας, ἀμφισβητοῦσιν οὐδένες· ἐφ' ὅτῳ δέ, διάφορα ἐς
9 τοῦτο εἴρηται. Διομήδην φασὶν ἁλούσης Ἰλίου ταῖς ναυσὶν ὀπίσω κομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἤδη τε νύκτα ἐπέχειν ὡς κατὰ Φάληρον πλέοντες γίνονται καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ὡς ἐς πολεμίαν ἀποβῆναι τὴν γῆν, ἄλλην που δόξαντας ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ οὐ τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἶναι. ἐνταῦθα Δημοφῶντα λέγουσιν ἐκβοηθήσαντα, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον οὐδὲ τοῦτον τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὡς εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ ἄνδρας αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τὸ Παλλάδιον ἁρπάσαντα οἴχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖόν τε ἄνδρα οὐ προϊδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Δημοφῶντος ἀνατραπῆναι καὶ συμπατηθέντα ἀποθανεῖν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ Δημοφῶντα ὑποσχεῖν δίκας οἱ μὲν τοῦ συμπατηθέντος τοῖς προσήκουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργείων φασὶ τῷ κοινῷ.
10 ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δὲ κρίσις καθέστηκεν ἐργάσασθαι

account of the death of Oedipus in the drama of Sophocles I am prevented from believing by Homer, who says that after the death of Oedipus Mecisteus came to Thebes and took part in the funeral games.

The Athenians have other law courts as well, which are not so famous. We have the Parabystum (*Thrust aside*) and the Triangle; the former is in an obscure part of the city, and in it the most trivial cases are tried; the latter is named from its shape. The names of Green Court and Red Court, due to their colours, have lasted down to the present day. The largest court, to which the greatest numbers come, is called Heliaea. One of the other courts that deal with bloodshed is called "At Palladium," into which are brought cases of involuntary homicide. All are agreed that Demophon was the first to be tried there, but as to the nature of the charge accounts differ. It is reported that after the capture of Troy Diomedes was returning home with his fleet when night overtook them as in their voyage they were off Phalerum. The Argives landed, under the impression that it was hostile territory, the darkness preventing them from seeing that it was Attica. Thereupon they say that Demophon, he too being unaware of the facts and ignorant that those who had landed were Argives, attacked them and, having killed a number of them, went off with the Palladium. An Athenian, however, not seeing before him in the dark, was knocked over by the horse of Demophon, trampled upon and killed. Whereupon Demophon was brought to trial, some say by the relatives of the man who was trampled upon, others say by the Argive commonwealth. At Delphinium are tried

φόνον σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ φαμένοις, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ Θησεὺς παρεχόμενος ἀπέφυγεν, ὅτε Πάλλαντα ἐπαναστάντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔκτεινε· πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θησεὺς ἀφείθη, καθειστήκει πᾶσι φεύγειν κτείναντα ἢ κατὰ ταὐτὰ θνήσκειν μένοντα. τὸ δὲ ἐν πρυτανείῳ καλούμενον, ἔνθα τῷ σιδήρῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀψύχοις δικάζουσιν, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρξασθαι νομίζω. Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύοντος Ἐρεχθέως, τότε πρῶτον βοῦν ἔκτεινεν ὁ βουφόνος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Πολιέως Διός· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπολιπὼν ταύτῃ τὸν πέλεκυν ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας φεύγων, ὁ δὲ πέλεκυς παραυτίκα ἀφείθη[1] κριθεὶς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κρίνεται. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀψύχων αὐτόματα ἐπιθεῖναι σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώποις· ἔργον δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ δόξῃ φανερώτατον ὁ Καμβύσου παρέσχετο ἀκινάκης. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ Πειραιῶς πρὸς θαλάσσῃ Φρεαττύς· ἐνταῦθα οἱ πεφευγότες, ἣν ἀπελθόντας ἕτερον ἐπιλάβῃ σφᾶς ἔγκλημα, πρὸς ἀκροωμένους ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ νεὼς ἀπologοῦνται· Τεῦκρον πρῶτον λόγος ἔχει Τελαμῶνι οὕτως ἀπologήσασθαι μηδὲν ἐς τὸν Αἴαντος θάνατον εἰργάσθαι. τάδε μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι τῶνδε ἕνεκα, ὁπόσοις μέτεστι σπουδῆς γνῶναι τὰ ἐς τὰ δικαστήρια· XXIX. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον δείκνυται ναῦς ποιηθεῖσα ἐς τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπήν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἤδη πού τις ὑπερεβάλετο· τὸ δὲ ἐν Δήλῳ πλοῖον οὐδένα πω νικήσαντα οἶδα, καθῆκον ἐς ἐννέα ἐρέτας ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων.

[1] ἀφείθη ἐς θάλασσαν Hitzig.

those who claim that they have committed justifiable homicide, the plea put forward by Theseus when he was acquitted, after having killed Pallas, who had risen in revolt against him, and his sons. Before Theseus was acquitted it was the established custom among all men for the shedder of blood to go into exile, or, if he remained, to be put to a similar death. The Court in the Prytaneum, as it is called, where they try iron and all similar inanimate things, had its origin, I believe, in the following incident. It was when Erechtheus was king of Athens that the ox-slayer first killed an ox at the altar of Zeus Polieus. Leaving the axe where it lay he went out of the land into exile, and the axe was forthwith tried and acquitted, and the trial has been repeated year by year down to the present. Furthermore, it is also said that inanimate objects have on occasion of their own accord inflicted righteous retribution upon men, of this the scimitar of Cambyses affords the best and most famous instance.[1] Near the sea at the Peiraeus is Phreattys. Here it is that men in exile, when a further charge has been brought against them in their absence, make their defence on a ship while the judges listen on land. The legend is that Teucer first defended himself in this way before Telamon, urging that he was guiltless in the matter of the death of Ajax. Let this account suffice for those who are interested to learn about the law courts. XXIX. Near the Hill of Ares is shown a ship built for the procession of the Panathenaea. This ship, I suppose, has been surpassed in size by others, but I know of no builder who has beaten the vessel at Delos, with its nine banks of oars below the deck.

[1] See Herodotus iii. 64.

2 Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ ἔξω πόλεως ἐν τοῖς δήμοις καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς θεῶν ἐστιν ἱερὰ καὶ ἡρώων καὶ ἀνδρῶν τάφοι· ἐγγυτάτω δὲ Ἀκαδημία, χωρίον ποτὲ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου, γυμνάσιον δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. κατιοῦσι δ' ἐς αὐτὴν περίβολός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανα Ἀρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης· ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Πάμφω, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδός εἰσιν ἐπικλήσεις αὗται, λεγόμενον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον εἰδὼς ὑπερβήσομαι. καὶ ναὸς οὐ μέγας ἐστίν, ἐς ὃν τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Ἐλευθερέως τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζουσιν
3 ἐν τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις. ἱερὰ μέν σφισι ταύτῃ τοσαῦτά ἐστι, τάφοι δὲ Θρασυβούλου μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ Λύκου, ἀνδρὸς τῶν τε ὕστερον καὶ ὅσοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασιν Ἀθηναίοις λόγιμοι τὰ πάντα ἀρίστου—παρέντι δέ μοι τὰ πλείω τοσάδε ἐς πίστιν ἀρκέσει τοῦ λόγου· τυραννίδα γὰρ ἔπαυσε τῶν τριάκοντα καλουμένων σὺν ἀνδράσιν ἑξήκοντα τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους στασιάζοντας διαλλαγῆναι καὶ συνθεμένους ἔπεισε μεῖναι—, πρῶτος μέν ἐστιν οὗτος τάφος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Περικλέους τε καὶ Χαβρίου
4 καὶ Φορμίωνος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πᾶσι μνῆμα Ἀθηναίοις ὁπόσοις ἀποθανεῖν συνέπεσεν ἔν τε ναυμαχίαις καὶ ἐν μάχαις πεζαῖς πλὴν ὅσοι Μαραθῶνι αὐτῶν ἠγωνίσαντο· τούτοις γὰρ κατὰ χώραν εἰσὶν οἱ τάφοι δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κεῖνται τὴν ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν, καὶ σφῶν ἑστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον

Outside the city, too, in the parishes and on the roads, the Athenians have sanctuaries of the gods, and graves of heroes and of men. The nearest is the Academy, once the property of a private individual, but in my time a gymnasium. As you go down to it you come to a precinct of Artemis, and wooden images of Ariste (*Best*) and Calliste (*Fairest*). In my opinion, which is supported by the poems of Pamphos, these are surnames of Artemis. There is another account of them, which I know but shall omit. Then there is a small temple, into which every year on fixed days they carry the image of Dionysus Eleuthereus. Such are their sanctuaries here, and of the graves the first is that of Thrasybulus son of Lycus, in all respects the greatest of all famous Athenians, whether they lived before him or after him. The greater number of his achievements I shall pass by, but the following facts will suffice to bear out my assertion. He put down what is known as the 408 B.C. tyranny of the Thirty, setting out from Thebes with a force amounting at first to sixty men; he also persuaded the Athenians, who were torn by factions, to be reconciled, and to abide by their compact. His is the first grave, and after it come those of Pericles, Chabrias[1] and Phormio.[2] There is also a monument for all the Athenians whose fate it has been to fall in battle, whether at sea or on land, except such of them as fought at Marathon. These, for their valour, have their graves on the field of battle, but the others lie along the road to the Academy, and on their graves stand slabs bearing

[1] Died 357 B.C.

[2] A famous Athenian admiral who fought well in the early part of the Peloponnesian War.

ἑκάστου λέγουσαι. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐτάφησαν οὓς ἐν Θράκῃ ποτὲ ἐπικρατοῦντας μέχρι Δραβησκοῦ τῆς χώρας Ἠδωνοὶ φονεύουσιν ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπιθέμενοι· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς κεραυνοὶ πέσοιεν ἐς
5 αὐτούς. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἦσαν καὶ Λέαγρος, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ δύναμις, καὶ Δεκελεὺς Σωφάνης, ὃς τὸν Ἀργεῖόν ποτε πένταθλον Νεμείων ἀνῃρημένον νίκην ἀπέκτεινεν Εὐρυβάτην βοηθοῦντα Αἰγινήταις. στρατὸν δὲ ἔξω τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ἀθηναῖοι τρίτον τοῦτον ἔστειλαν· Πριάμῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ Τρωσὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου κατέστησαν ἐς πόλεμον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἰδίᾳ μετ' Ἰολάου τε ἐς Σαρδὼ καὶ δευτέραν ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἰωνίαν ἐστράτευσαν καὶ τρίτον δὴ τότε
6 ἐς τὴν Θράκην. ἔστι δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ μνήματος στήλη μαχομένους ἔχουσα ἱππεῖς· Μελάνωπός σφισιν ἐστι καὶ Μακάρτατος ὀνόματα, οὓς κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένους, ἔνθα τῆς Ἐλεωνίας εἰσὶ χώρας πρὸς Ταναγραίους ὅροι. καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τάφος ἐστὶν ἱππέων κατὰ παλαιὰν φιλίαν ἐλθόντων, ὅτε σὺν Ἀρχιδάμῳ Πελοποννήσιοι πρῶτον ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατιᾷ, καὶ πλησίον τοξόται Κρησίν· αὖθις δέ ἐστιν Ἀθηναίων μνήματα Κλεισθένους, ᾧ τὰ ἐς τὰς φυλὰς αἳ νῦν καθεστᾶσιν εὑρέθη, καὶ ἱππεῦσιν ἀποθανοῦσιν ἡνίκα συνεπελάβοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ τοῦ κινδύνου.
7 ἐνταῦθα καὶ Κλεωναῖοι κεῖνται, μετὰ Ἀργείων ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθόντες· ἐφ' ὅτῳ δέ, γράψω τοῦ λόγου μοι κατελθόντος ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους. καὶ

the name and parish of each. First were buried those who in Thrace, after a victorious advance as far as Drabescus, were unexpectedly attacked by the Edonians and slaughtered. There is also a legend that they were struck by lightning. Among the generals were Leagrus, to whom was entrusted chief command of the army, and Sophanes of Decelea, who killed when he came to the help of the Aeginetans Eurybates the Argive, who won the prize in the *pentathlon*[1] at the Nemean games. This was the third expedition which the Athenians dispatched out of Greece. For against Priam and the Trojans war was made with one accord by all the Grecks; but by themselves the Athenians sent armies, first with Iolaus to Sardinia, secondly to what is now Ionia, and thirdly on the present occasion to Thrace. Before the monument is a slab on which are horsemen fighting. Their names are Melanopus and Macartatus, who met their death fighting against the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians on the borders of Eleon and Tanagra. There is also a grave of Thessalian horsemen who, by reason of an old alliance, came when the Peloponnesians with Archidamus invaded Attica with an army for the first time, and hard by that of Cretan bowmen. Again there are monuments to Athenians: to Cleisthenes, who invented the system of the tribes at present existing, and to horsemen who died when the Thessalians shared the fortune of war with the Athenians. Here too lie the men of Cleone, who came with the Argives into Attica; the occasion whereof I shall set forth when in the course of my narrative I come to the Argives. There is also the

c. 465 B.C.

431 B.C.

508 B.C.

457 B.C.

[1] A group of five contests: leaping, foot-racing, throwing the quoit, throwing the spear, wrestling.

Ἀθηναίων δ' ἔστι τάφος, οἳ πρὶν ἢ στρατεῦσαι τὸν Μῆδον ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ δήμου δίκαιον βούλευμα, εἰ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι μετέδοσαν δούλοις δημοσίᾳ ταφῆναι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγγραφῆναι στήλῃ· δηλοῖ δὲ ἀγαθοὺς σφᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γενέσθαι περὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν μνήματα ἄλλων, διάφορα δέ σφισι τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀγώνων· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐπ' Ὄλυνθον ἐλθόντων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ Μελήσανδρος ἐς τὴν ἄνω Καρίαν ναυσὶν �ανα-
8 πλεύσας διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου, ἐτάφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντες πολεμοῦντος Κασσάνδρου καὶ οἱ συμμαχήσαντές ποτε Ἀργείων. πραχθῆναι δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὴν πρὸς Ἀργείους λέγουσι συμμαχίαν· Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος οἱ εἵλωτες ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν, ἀφεστηκότων δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βοηθοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων μετεπέμποντο· οἱ δέ σφισιν ἐπιλέκτους ἄνδρας ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ στρατηγὸν Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου. τούτους ἀποπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς ὑποψίαν·
9 Ἀθηναίοις δὲ οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο περιυβρίσθαι, καὶ ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ὑπίσω συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο Ἀργείοις Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχθροῖς τὸν ἅπαντα οὖσι χρόνον. ὕστερον δὲ μελλούσης Ἀθηναίων ἐν Ταναγρᾳ γίνεσθαι πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης, ἀφίκοντο Ἀθηναίοις Ἀργεῖοι βοηθοῦντες· καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν ἔχοντας πλέον τοὺς Ἀργείους νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἀφείλετο τὸ σαφὲς τῆς νίκης, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὑπῆρξε κρατῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις Θεσσαλῶν προδόντων Ἀθηναίους.
10 καταλέξαι δέ μοι καὶ τούσδε ἐπῆλθεν, Ἀπολ-

grave of the Athenians who fought against the Aeginetans before the Persian invasion. It was surely a just decree even for a democracy when the Athenians actually allowed slaves a public funeral, and to have their names inscribed on a slab, which declares that in the war they proved good men and true to their masters. There are also monuments of other men, their fields of battle lying in various regions. Here lie the most renowned of those who went against Olynthus, and Melesander 349 B.C.
who sailed with a fleet along the Maeander into 430 B.C.
upper Caria; also those who died in the war with Cassander, and the Argives who once fought as the allies of Athens. It is said that the alliance between the two peoples was brought about thus. Sparta was once shaken by an earthquake, and the Helots seceded to Ithome. After the secession the La- 461 B.C.
cedaemonians sent for help to various places, including Athens, which dispatched picked troops under the command of Cimon, the son of Miltiades. These the Lacedaemonians dismissed, because they suspected them. The Athenians regarded the insult as intolerable, and on their way back made an alliance with the Argives, the immemorial enemies of the Lacedaemonians. Afterwards, when a battle 457 B.C.
was imminent at Tanagra, the Athenians opposing the Boeotians and Lacedaemonians, the Argives reinforced the Athenians. For a time the Argives had the better, but night came on and took from them the assurance of their victory, and on the next day the Lacedaemonians had the better, as the Thessalians betrayed the Athenians. It occurred to me to tell of the following men also, firstly Apollo- 340 B.C.

λόδωρον ξένων ἡγεμόνα, ὃς Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἦν, ἐκπεμφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρσίτου σατράπου τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας διεφύλαξε Περινθίοις τὴν πόλιν ἐσβεβληκότος ἐς τὴν Περινθίαν Φιλίππου στρατῷ· οὗτός τε οὖν ἐνταῦθα τέθαπται καὶ Εὔβουλος ὁ Σπινθάρου καὶ ἄνδρες οἷς ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν οὐκ ἐπηκολούθησε τύχη χρηστή, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιθεμένοις τυραννοῦντι Λαχάρει, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατάληψιν ἐβούλευσαν Μακεδόνων φρουρούντων, πρὶν δὲ εἰργάσθαι τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τῶν
11 συνειδότων μηνυθέντες ἀπώλοντο. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Κόρινθον πεσόντες· ἐδήλωσε δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὖθις ἐν Λεύκτροις τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καλουμένους ἀνδρείους τὸ μηδὲν ἄνευ Τύχης εἶναι, εἰ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Κορινθίων τότε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν κρατήσαντες, ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν μόνων ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκακώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν Κορίνθῳ στήλην ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἑστάναι τὴν αὐτὴν σημαίνει τὰ ἐλεγεῖα, τοῖς μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Χίῳ τελευτήσασι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ἠπείρου διαφθαρῆναι δηλοῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ.
12 γεγραμμένοι δέ εἰσιν οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ πλὴν Νικίου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἀστοῖς Πλαταιεῖς· Νικίας δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε παρείθη, γράφω δὲ οὐδὲν διάφορα ἢ Φίλιστος, ὃς ἔφη Δημοσθένην μὲν σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις πλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ἡλίσκετο αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι,

dorus, commander of the mercenaries, who was an Athenian dispatched by Arsites, satrap of Phrygia by the Hellespont, and saved their city for the Perinthians when Philip had invaded their territory with an army. He, then, is buried here, and also Eubulus [1] the son of Spintharus, along with men who though brave were not attended by good fortune; some attacked Lachares when he was tyrant, others planned the capture of the Peiraeus when in the hands of a Macedonian garrison, but before the deed could be accomplished were betrayed by their accomplices and put to death. Here also lie those who fell 394 B.C. near Corinth. Heaven showed most distinctly here and again at Leuctra that those whom the Greeks 371 B.C. call brave are as nothing if Good Fortune be not with them, seeing that the Lacedaemonians, who had on this occasion overcome Corinthians and Athenians, and furthermore Argives and Boeotians, were afterwards at Leuctra so utterly overthrown by the Boeotians alone. After those who were killed at Corinth, we come across elegiac verses declaring that one and the same slab has been erected to those who died in Euboea and Chios, and 445 B.C. to those who perished in the remote parts of the continent of Asia, or in Sicily. The names of the generals are inscribed with the exception of Nicias, and among the private soldiers are included the Plataeans along with the Athenians. This is the reason why Nicias was passed over, and my account is identical with that of Philistus, who says that while Demosthenes made a truce for the others and excluded himself, attempting to commit suicide when 413 B.C.

[1] A contemporary of Demosthenes.

Νικίᾳ δὲ τὴν παράδοσιν ἐθελοντῇ γενέσθαι· τούτων ἕνεκα οὐκ ἐνεγράφη Νικίας τῇ στήλῃ, καταγνωσθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος ἐθελοντὴς εἶναι καὶ οὐκ
13 ἀνὴρ πολέμῳ πρέπων. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῃ στήλῃ καὶ οἱ μαχεσάμενοι περὶ Θράκην καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις καὶ ἡνίκα Ἀρκάδας τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ καὶ Ἠλείους ἔπεισεν Ἀλκιβιάδης Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστῆναι καὶ οἱ πρὶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφικέσθαι Δημοσθένην Συρακουσίων κρατήσαντες. ἐτάφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ναυμαχήσαντες καὶ ὅσοι Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἠγωνίσαντο ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλέωνος ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατεύσαντες, οἵ τε ἐν Δηλίῳ τῷ Ταναγραίων τελευτήσαντες καὶ ὅσους ἐς Θεσσαλίαν Λεωσθένης ἤγαγε καὶ οἱ πλεύσαντες ἐς Κύπρον ὁμοῦ Κίμωνι, τῶν τε σὺν Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἄνδρες οὐ πλείους.
14 φασὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁμορόν τινα πολεμοῦσι πόλεμον στρατιὰν οὐ πολλὴν πέμψαι, καὶ ὕστερον ναυμαχίας Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Καρχηδονίους γινομένης τριήρεις πέντε Ἀττικαὶ παρεγένοντο· ἔστιν οὖν καὶ τούτοις ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ τάφος. Τολμίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ δεδήλωται μὲν ἤδη μοι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐτελεύτησαν· ἴστω δὲ ὅτῳ φίλον κειμένους σφᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν Κίμωνι τὸ μέγα ἔργον πεζῇ καὶ
15 ναυσὶν αὐθημερὸν κρατήσαντες· τέθαπται δὲ καὶ Κόνων καὶ Τιμόθεος, δεύτεροι μετὰ Μιλτιάδην καὶ Κίμωνα οὗτοι πατὴρ καὶ παῖς ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρά. κεῖται δὲ καὶ Ζήνων ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μνασέου καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς, Νικίας τε ὁ

taken prisoner, Nicias voluntarily submitted to the surrender. For this reason Nicias had not his name inscribed on the slab, being condemned as a voluntary prisoner and an unworthy soldier. On another slab are the names of those who fought in the region of Thrace and at Megara, and when 445 B.C.
Alcibiades persuaded the Arcadians in Mantinea and 420 B.C.
the Eleans to revolt from the Lacedaemonians, and of those who were victorious over the Syracusans before Demosthenes arrived in Sicily. Here were buried also those who fought in the sea-fights near the Helles- 409 B.C.
pont, those who opposed the Macedonians at Chae- 338 B.C.
ronea, those who marched with Cleon to Amphipolis, 422 B.C.
those who were killed at Delium in the territory of 424 B.C.
Tanagra, the men Leosthenes led into Thessaly, those who sailed with Cimon to Cyprus, and of those 449 B.C.
who with Olympiodorus[1] expelled the garrison not more than thirteen men. The Athenians declare that when the Romans were waging a border war they sent a small force to help them, and later on five Attic warships assisted the Romans in a naval action against the Carthaginians. Accordingly these men also have their grave here. The achievements of Tolmides and his men, and the manner of their death, I have already set forth, and any who are interested may take note that they are buried along this road. Here lie too those who with Cimon achieved the 466 B.C.
great feat of winning a land and naval victory on one and the same day. Here also are buried Conon and Timotheus, father and son, the second pair thus related to accomplish illustrious deeds, Miltiades and Cimon being the first; Zeno[2] too, the son of Mnaseas and Chrysippus[2] of Soli, Nicias the son of Nicomedes,

[1] See p. 133. [2] Stoic philosophers.

Νικομήδους ζῷα ἄριστος γράψαι τῶν ἐφ' αὑτοῦ, καὶ Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ τὸν Πεισιστράτου παῖδα Ἵππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες, ῥήτορές τε Ἐφιάλτης, ὃς τὰ νόμιμα τὰ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ μάλιστα ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὁ Λυ-
16 κόφρονος. Λυκούργῳ δὲ ἐπορίσθη μὲν τάλαντα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον πεντακοσίοις πλείονα καὶ ἑξακισχιλίοις ἢ ὅσα Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου συνήγαγε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ πομπεῖα τῇ θεῷ καὶ Νίκας χρυσᾶς καὶ παρθένους κόσμον ἑκατόν, ἐς δὲ πόλεμον ὅπλα καὶ βέλη καὶ τετρακοσίας ναυμαχοῦσιν εἶναι τριήρεις· οἰκοδομήματα δὲ ἐπετέλεσε μὲν τὸ θέατρον ἑτέρων ὑπαρξαμένων, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ πολιτείας ἃ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐν Πειραιεῖ νεώς εἰσιν οἶκοι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῷ Λυκείῳ καλουμένῳ γυμνάσιον. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἦν καὶ χρυσοῦ, Λαχάρης καὶ ταῦτα ἐσύλησε τυραννήσας· τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἦν.

XXX. Πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ἔρωτος ἔχων ἐπίγραμμα ὡς Χάρμος Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος Ἔρωτι ἀναθείη. τὸν δὲ ἐν πόλει βωμὸν καλούμενον Ἀντέρωτος ἀνάθημα εἶναι λέγουσι μετοίκων, ὅτι Μέλης Ἀθηναῖος μέτοικον ἄνδρα Τιμαγόραν ἐρασθέντα ἀτιμάζων ἀφεῖναι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ ὑψηλότατον αὐτῆς ἀνελθόντα· Τιμαγόρας δὲ ἄρα καὶ ψυχῆς εἶχεν ἀφειδῶς καὶ πάντα ὁμοίως κελεύοντι ἤθελε χαρίζεσθαι τῷ μειρακίῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ φέρων ἑαυτὸν ἀφῆκε· Μέλητα δέ, ὡς ἀποθανόντα εἶδε Τιμαγόραν, ἐς τοσοῦτο μετανοίας ἐλθεῖν ὡς πεσεῖν τε ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ οὕτως ἀφεὶς αὑτὸν ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ τὸ

the best painter from life of all his contemporaries, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who killed Hipparchus, the son of Peisistratus; there are also two orators, Ephialtes, who was chiefly responsible for the abolition of the privileges of the Areopagus, and Lycurgus,[1] the son of Lycophron; Lycurgus provided for the state-treasury six thousand five hundred talents more than Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, collected, and furnished for the procession of the Goddess golden figures of Victory and ornaments for a hundred maidens; for war he provided arms and missiles, besides increasing the fleet to four hundred warships. As for buildings, he completed the theatre that others had begun, while during his political life he built dockyards in the Peiraeus and the gymnasium near what is called the Lyceum. Everything made of silver or gold became part of the plunder Lachares made away with when he became tyrant, but the buildings remained to my time. 463–1 B.C.

XXX. Before the entrance to the Academy is an altar to Love, with an inscription that Charmus was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to that god. The altar within the city called the altar of Anteros (*Love Avenged*) they say was dedicated by resident aliens, because the Athenian Meles, spurning the love of Timagoras, a resident alien, bade him ascend to the highest point of the rock and cast himself down. Now Timagoras took no account of his life, and was ready to gratify the youth in any of his requests, so he went and cast himself down. When Meles saw that Timagoras was dead, he suffered such pangs of remorse that he threw himself from the same rock and so died. From this time the resident

[1] A contemporary of Demosthenes.

ἐντεῦθεν δαίμονα Ἀντέρωτα τὸν ἀλάστορα τὸν
2 Τιμαγόρου κατέστη τοῖς μετοίκοις νομίζειν. ἐν
Ἀκαδημίᾳ δέ ἐστι Προμηθέως βωμός, καὶ θέουσιν
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας
λαμπάδας· τὸ δὲ ἀγώνισμα ὁμοῦ τῷ δρόμῳ
φυλάξαι τὴν δᾷδα ἔτι καιομένην ἐστίν, ἀπο-
σβεσθείσης δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς νίκης τῷ πρώτῳ,
δευτέρῳ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τούτῳ
καίοιτο, ὁ τρίτος ἐστὶν ὁ κρατῶν· εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν
ἀποσβεσθείη, οὐδείς ἐστιν ὅτῳ καταλείπεται ἡ
νίκη. ἔστι δὲ Μουσῶν τε βωμὸς καὶ ἕτερος
Ἑρμοῦ καὶ ἔνδον Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους
ἐποίησαν· καὶ φυτόν ἐστιν ἐλαίας, δεύτερον τοῦτο
λεγόμενον φανῆναι.
3 Ἀκαδημίας δὲ οὐ πόρρω Πλάτωνος μνῆμά
ἐστιν, ᾧ προεσήμαινεν ὁ θεὸς ἄριστον τὰ ἐς
φιλοσοφίαν ἔσεσθαι· προεσήμαινε δὲ οὕτω. Σω-
κράτης τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ἢ Πλάτων ἔμελλεν
ἔσεσθαί οἱ μαθητὴς ἐσπτῆναί οἱ κύκνον ἐς τὸν
κόλπον εἶδεν ὄνειρον· ἔστι δὲ κύκνῳ τῷ ὄρνιθι
μουσικῆς δόξα, ὅτι Λιγύων τῶν Ἠριδανοῦ πέραν
ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Κελτικῆς Κύκνον ἄνδρα μουσικὸν
γενέσθαι βασιλέα φασί, τελευτήσαντα δὲ Ἀπόλ-
λωνος γνώμῃ μεταβαλεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν
ὄρνιθα. ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεῦσαι μὲν πείθομαι Λί-
γυσιν ἄνδρα μουσικόν, γενέσθαι δέ μοι ἄπιστον
4 ὄρνιθα ἀπ' ἀνδρός. κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρας
φαίνεται πύργος Τίμωνος, ὃς μόνος εἶδε μηδένα
τρόπον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι γενέσθαι πλὴν τοὺς
ἄλλους φεύγοντα ἀνθρώπους. δείκνυται δὲ καὶ
χῶρος καλούμενος κολωνὸς ἵππιος, ἔνθα τῆς

aliens worshipped as Anteros the avenging spirit of Timagoras. In the Academy is an altar to Prometheus, and from it they run to the city carrying burning torches. The contest is while running to keep the torch still alight; if the torch of the first runner goes out, he has no longer any claim to victory, but the second runner has. If his torch also goes out, then the third man is the victor. If all the torches go out, no one is left to be winner. There is an altar to the Muses, and another to Hermes, and one within to Athena, and they have built one to Heracles. There is also an olive tree, accounted to be the second that appeared.

Not far from the Academy is the monument of Plato, to whom heaven foretold that he would be the prince of philosophers. The manner of the foretelling was this. On the night before Plato was to become his pupil Socrates in a dream saw a swan fly into his bosom. Now the swan is a bird with a reputation for music, because, they say, a musician of the name of Swan became king of the Ligyes on the other side of the Eridanus beyond the Celtic territory, and after his death by the will of Apollo he was changed into the bird. I am ready to believe that a musician became king of the Ligyes, but I cannot believe that a bird grew out of a man. In this part of the country is seen the tower of Timon, the only man to see that there is no way to be happy except to shun other men. There is also pointed out a place called the Hill of Horses, the first point in Attica, they say, that

Ἀττικῆς πρῶτον ἐλθεῖν λέγουσιν Οἰδίποδα—διάφορα μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τῇ Ὁμήρου ποιήσει, λέγουσι δ' οὖν—, καὶ βωμὸς Ποσειδῶνος Ἱππίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἱππίας, ἡρῷον δὲ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως Οἰδίποδός τε καὶ Ἀδράστου. τὸ δὲ ἄλσος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησεν Ἀντίγονος ἐσβαλών, καὶ ἄλλοτε στρατιᾷ κακώσας Ἀθηναίοις τὴν γῆν.

XXXI. Δῆμοι δὲ οἱ μικροὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος οἰκισθείς, τάδε ἐς μνήμην παρείχοντο· Ἀλιμουσίοις μὲν Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἐν Ζωστῆρι δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ βωμὸς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς. τεκεῖν μὲν οὖν Λητὼ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα οὔ φασι, λύσασθαι δὲ τὸν ζωστῆρα ὡς τεξομένην, καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. Προσπαλτίοις δέ ἐστι καὶ τούτοις Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν, Ἀναγυρασίοις δὲ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν· Κεφαλῆσι δὲ οἱ Διόσκουροι νομίζονται μάλιστα, Μεγάλους γὰρ σφᾶς
2 οἱ ταύτῃ θεοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν. ἐν δὲ Πρασιεῦσιν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι ναός· ἐνταῦθα τὰς Ὑπερβορέων ἀπαρχὰς ἰέναι λέγεται, παραδιδόναι δὲ αὐτὰς Ὑπερβορέους μὲν Ἀριμασποῖς, Ἀριμασποὺς δ' Ἰσσηδόσι, παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθας ἐς Σινώπην κομίζειν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φέρεσθαι διὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐς Πρασιάς, Ἀθηναίους δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ἐς Δῆλον ἄγοντας· τὰς δὲ ἀπαρχὰς κεκρύφθαι μὲν ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν, γινώσκεσθαι δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενῶν. ἔστι δὲ μνῆμα ἐπὶ Πρασιαῖς Ἐρυσίχθονος, ὡς ἐκομίζετο ὀπίσω μετὰ τὴν θεωρίαν ἐκ Δήλου, γενομένης οἱ
3 κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τῆς τελευτῆς. Κραναὸν δὲ τὸν

Oedipus reached—this account too differs from that given by Homer, but it is nevertheless current tradition—and an altar to Poseidon, Horse God, and to Athena, Horse Goddess, and a chapel to the heroes Peirithous and Theseus, Oedipus and Adrastus. The grove and temple of Poseidon were burnt by Antigonus[1] when he invaded Attica, who at other times also ravaged the land of the Athenians.

XXXI. The small parishes of Attica, which were founded severally as chance would have it, presented the following noteworthy features. At Alimus is a sanctuary of Demeter Lawgiver and of the Maid, and at Zoster (*Girdle*) on the coast is an altar to Athena, as well as to Apollo, to Artemis and to Leto. The story is that Leto did not give birth to her children here, but loosened her girdle with a view to her delivery, and the place received its name from this incident. Prospalta has also a sanctuary of the Maid and Demeter, and Anagyrus a sanctuary of the Mother of the gods. At Cephale the chief cult is that of the Dioscuri, for the inhabitants call them the Great gods. At Prasiae is a temple of Apollo. Hither they say are sent the first-fruits of the Hyperboreans, and the Hyperboreans are said to hand them over to the Arimaspi, the Arimaspi to the Issedones, from these the Scythians bring them to Sinope, thence they are carried by Greeks to Prasiae, and the Athenians take them to Delos. The first-fruits are hidden in wheat straw, and they are known of none. There is at Prasiae a monument to Erysichthon, who died on the voyage home from Delos, after the sacred mission thither. How

[1] See p. 3.

βασιλεύσαντα Ἀθηναίων ὅτι μὲν ἐξέβαλεν Ἀμφικτύων κηδεστὴν ὄντα, ἔτι πρότερον εἴρηταί μοι· φυγόντα δὲ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Λαμπτρέα ἀποθανεῖν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ταφῆναί φασι, καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐν τοῖς Λαμπτρεῦσι Κραναοῦ μνῆμα. Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου—καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ᾤκησε παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἐλευσινίους ἐπολεμάρχησε—τάφος ἐν Ποταμοῖς ἐστι
4 τῆς χώρας. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται, Φλυεῦσι δέ εἰσι καὶ Μυρρινουσίοις τοῖς μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος Διονυσοδότου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Σελασφόρου βωμοὶ Διονύσου τε Ἀνθίου καὶ νυμφῶν Ἰσμηνίδων καὶ Γῆς, ἣν Μεγάλην θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι· ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς Δήμητρος Ἀνησιδώρας καὶ Διὸς Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Κόρης Πρωτογόνης καὶ Σεμνῶν ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν· τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυρρινοῦντι ξόανόν ἐστι Κολαινίδος. Ἀθμονεῖς
5 δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἀμαρυσίαν Ἄρτεμιν· πυνθανόμενος δὲ σαφὲς οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένους τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς εὗρον, αὐτὸς δὲ συμβάλλομαι τῇδε. ἔστιν Ἀμάρυνθος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ταύτῃ τιμῶσιν Ἀμαρυσίαν, ἑορτὴν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Ἀμαρυσίας ἄγουσιν οὐδέν τι Εὐβοέων ἀφανέστερον· ταύτῃ μὲν γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ Ἀθμονεῦσιν ἡγοῦμαι, τὴν δὲ ἐν Μυρρινοῦντι Κολαινίδα ἀπὸ Κολαίνου καλεῖσθαι. γέγραπται δ' ἤδη μοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις φάναι πολλοὺς ὡς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασιλεύοντο τῆς Κέκροπος· ἔστι δὲ ὁ Κόλαινος ἀνδρὸς ὄνομα πρότερον ἢ Κέκροψ ἐβασίλευσεν—ὡς οἱ Μυρρινούσιοι λέ-

Amphictyon banished Cranaus, his kinsman by marriage and king of Athens, I have already related. They say that fleeing with his supporters to the parish of Lamptrae he died and was buried there, and at the present day there is a monument to Cranaus at Lamptrae. At Potami in Attica is also the grave of Ion the son of Xuthus—for he too dwelt among the Athenians and was their commander-in-chief in the war with Eleusis. Such is the legend. Phlya and Myrrhinus have altars of Apollo Dionysodotus, Artemis Light-bearer, Dionysus Flower-god, the Ismenian nymphs and Earth, whom they name the Great goddess; a second temple contains altars of Demeter Anesidora (*Sender-up of Gifts*), Zeus Ctesius (*God of Gain*), Tithrone Athena, the Maid First-born and the goddesses styled August. The wooden image at Myrrhinus is of Colaenis. Athmonia worships Artemis Amarysia. On inquiry I discovered that the guides knew nothing about these deities, so I give my own conjecture. Amarynthus is a town in Euboea, the inhabitants of which worship Amarysia, while the festival of Amarysia which the Athenians celebrate is no less splendid than the Euboean. The name of the goddess, I think, came to Athmonia in this fashion, and the Colaenis in Myrrhinus is called after Colaenus. I have already written that many of the inhabitants of the parishes say that they were ruled by kings even before the reign of Cecrops. Now Colaenus, say the Myrrhinusians, is the name of a man who ruled before Cecrops became king. There

6 γουσιν—ἄρξαντος. ἔστι δὲ Ἀχαρναὶ δῆμος· οὗτοι θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν Ἀγυιέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς βωμός ἐστιν Ὑγείας· τὴν δ' Ἱππίαν Ἀθηνᾶν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Διόνυσον Μελπόμενον καὶ Κισσὸν τὸν αὐτὸν θεόν, τὸν κισσὸν τὸ φυτὸν ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον φανῆναι λέγοντες.

XXXII. Ὄρη δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶ Πεντελικὸν ἔνθα λιθοτομίαι, καὶ Πάρνης παρεχομένη θήραν συῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων, καὶ Τμηττὸς ὃς φύει νομὰς μελίσσαις ἐπιτηδειοτάτας πλὴν τῆς Ἀλαζώνων. Ἀλαζῶσι γὰρ συνήθεις ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις[1] ἐς νομὰς ἰοῦσιν εἰσὶν ἄφετοι καὶ μέλισσαι, οὐδὲ σφᾶς ἐς σίμβλους καθείρξαντες ἔχουσιν· αἱ δὲ ἐργάζονταί τε ὡς ἔτυχον τῆς χώρας καὶ συμφυὲς τὸ ἔργον αὐταῖς ἐστιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ οὔτε κηρὸν οὔτε μέλι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσεις. τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦ-
2 τόν ἐστιν, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὰ ὄρη καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα ἔχει· Πεντελῆσι μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν Τμηττῷ δὲ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Τμηττίου Διός, βωμοὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμβρίου Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι Προοψίου. καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνήθιος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἐστι καὶ βωμὸς Σημαλέου Διός· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος βωμός, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοτὲ μὲν Ὄμβριον τοτὲ δὲ Ἀπήμιον καλοῦντες Δία. καὶ Ἀγχεσμὸς ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίου.

3 Πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῶν νήσων ἐς ἀφήγησιν τραπέσθαι, τὰ ἐς τοὺς δήμους ἔχοντα αὖθις ἐπέξειμι. δῆμός ἐστι Μαραθὼν ἴσον τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέχων καὶ Καρύστου τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ· ταύτῃ τῆς

[1] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, emended by Korais.

is a parish called Acharnae, where they worship Apollo Agyieus (*God of Streets*) and Heracles, and there is an altar of Athena Health. And they call upon the name of Athena Horse-goddess and Dionysus Singer and Dionysus Ivy, saying that the plant ivy first appeared there.

XXXII. The Attic mountains are Pentelicus, where there are quarries, Parnes, where there is hunting of wild boars and of bears, and Hymettus, which grows the most suitable pasture for bees, except that of the Alazones.[1] For these people have actually bees ranging free, tamely following the other creatures when they go to pasture. These bees are not kept shut up in hives, and they work in any part of the land they happen to visit. They produce a solid mass from which you cannot separate either wax or honey. Such then is its nature. The Athenians have also statues of gods on their mountains. On Pentelicus is a statue of Athena, on Hymettus one of Zeus Hymettius. There are altars both of Zeus Rain-god and of Apollo Foreseer. On Parnes is a bronze Zeus Parnethius, and an altar to Zeus Semaleus (*Sign-giving*). There is on Parnes another altar, and on it they make sacrifice, calling Zeus sometimes Rain-god, sometimes Averter of Ills. Anchesmus is a mountain of no great size, with an image of Zeus Anchesmius.

Before turning to a description of the islands, I must again proceed with my account of the parishes. There is a parish called Marathon, equally distant from Athens and Carystus in Euboea. It was at this point

[1] A people of S. Russia.

Ἀττικῆς ἔσχον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐκρατήθησαν καί τινας ὡς ἀνήγοντο ἀπώλεσαν τῶν νεῶν. τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἑκάστων ἔχουσαι, καὶ ἕτερος Πλαταιεῦσι Βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις· ἐμαχέσαντο γὰρ καὶ δοῦλοι
4 τότε πρῶτον. καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐστιν ἰδίᾳ μνῆμα Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος, συμβάσης ὕστερόν οἱ τῆς τελευτῆς Πάρου τε ἁμαρτόντι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς κρίσιν Ἀθηναίοις καταστάντι. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα καὶ ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων ἔστιν αἰσθέσθαι· καταστῆναι δὲ ἐς ἐναργῆ θέαν ἐπίτηδες μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ συνήνεγκεν, ἀνηκόῳ δὲ ὄντι καὶ ἄλλως συμβὰν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν δαιμόνων ὀργή. σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθώνιοι τούτους τε οἳ παρὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπέθανον ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες καὶ Μαραθῶνα ἀφ' οὗ τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι καὶ Ἡρακλέα, φάμενοι πρώτοις Ἑλλήνων σφίσιν Ἡρακλέα θεὸν νομι-
5 σθῆναι. συνέβη δὲ ὡς λέγουσιν ἄνδρα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρεῖναι τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν σκευὴν ἄγροικον· οὗτος τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς καταφονεύσας ἀρότρῳ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἀφανής· ἐρομένοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλο μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχρησεν οὐδέν, τιμᾶν δὲ Ἐχετλαῖον ἐκέλευσεν ἥρωα. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ. τοὺς δὲ Μήδους Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν θάψαι λέγουσιν ὡς πάντως ὅσιον ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν γῇ κρύψαι, τάφον δὲ οὐδένα εὑρεῖν ἐδυνάμην· οὔτε γὰρ χῶμα οὔτε ἄλλο σημεῖον ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἐς ὄρυγμα δὲ φέροντες σφᾶς ὡς

in Attica that the foreigners landed, were defeated in battle, and lost some of their vessels as they were putting off from the land. On the plain is the grave of the Athenians, and upon it are slabs giving the names of the killed according to their tribes; and there is another grave for the Boeotian Plataeans and for the slaves, for slaves fought then for the first time by the side of their masters. There is also a separate monument to one man, Miltiades, the son of Cimon, although his end came later, after he had failed to take Paros and for this reason had been brought to trial by the Athenians. At Marathon every night you can hear horses neighing and men fighting. No one who has expressly set himself to behold this vision has ever got any good from it, but the spirits are not wroth with such as in ignorance chance to be spectators. The Marathonians worship both those who died in the fighting, calling them heroes, and secondly Marathon, from whom the parish derives its name, and then Heracles, saying that they were the first among the Greeks to acknowledge him as a god. They say too that there chanced to be present in the battle a man of rustic appearance and dress. Having slaughtered many of the foreigners with a plough he was seen no more after the engagement. When the Athenians made enquiries at the oracle the god merely ordered them to honour Echetlaeus (*He of the Plough-tail*) as a hero. A trophy too of white marble has been erected. Although the Athenians assert that they buried the Persians, because in every case the divine law applies that a corpse should be laid under the earth, yet I could find no grave. There was neither mound nor other trace to be seen, as the dead were carried to a trench and thrown in

490 B.C.

6 τύχοιεν ἐσέβαλον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι πηγὴ καλουμένη Μακαρία, καὶ τοιάδε ἐς αὐτὴν λέγουσιν. Ἡρακλῆς ὡς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ἔφευγεν Εὐρυσθέα, παρὰ Κήυκα φίλον ὄντα μετοικίζεται βασιλεύοντα Τραχῖνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπελθόντος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων Ἡρακλέους ἐξήτει τοὺς παῖδας Εὐρυσθεύς, ἐς Ἀθήνας πέμπει σφᾶς ὁ Τραχίνιος ἀσθένειάν τε λέγων τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ Θησέα οὐκ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τιμωρεῖν· ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἱκέται πρῶτον τότε Πελοποννησίοις ποιοῦσι πόλεμον πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, Θησέως σφᾶς οὐκ ἐκδόντος αἰτοῦντι Εὐρυσθεῖ. λέγουσι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι χρησμὸν τῶν παίδων ἀποθανεῖν χρῆναι τῶν Ἡρακλέους τινὰ ἐθελοντήν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐκ εἶναι νίκην σφίσιν· ἐνταῦθα Μακαρία Δημανείρας καὶ Ἡρακλέους θυγάτηρ ἀποσφάξασα ἑαυτὴν ἔδωκεν Ἀθηναίοις τε κρατῆσαι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ
7 πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἀφ' αὑτῆς. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι λίμνη τὰ πολλὰ ἑλώδης· ἐς ταύτην ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν ὁδῶν φεύγοντες ἐσπίπτουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, καί σφισι τὸν φόνον τὸν πολὺν ἐπὶ τούτῳ συμβῆναι λέγουσιν· ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν λίμνην φάτναι εἰσὶ λίθου τῶν ἵππων τῶν Ἀρταφέρνους καὶ σημεῖα ἐν πέτραις σκηνῆς. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, τὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ βοσκήμασιν ὕδωρ ἐπιτήδειον παρεχόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἁλμυρὸς ἤδη γίνεται καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν θαλασσίων πλήρης. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω τοῦ πεδίου Πανός ἐστιν ὄρος καὶ σπήλαιον θέας ἄξιον· ἔσοδος μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ στενή, παρελθοῦσι δέ εἰσιν οἶκοι καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ καλούμενον Πανὸς αἰπόλιον, πέτραι τὰ πολλὰ αἰξὶν εἰκασμέναι.

anyhow. In Marathon is a spring called Macaria, with the following legend. When Heracles left Tiryns, fleeing from Eurystheus, he went to live with his friend Ceyx, who was king of Trachis. But when Heracles departed this life Eurystheus demanded his children; whereupon the king of Trachis sent them to Athens, saying that he was weak but Theseus had power enough to succour them. The arrival of the children as suppliants caused for the first time war between Peloponnesians and Athenians, Theseus refusing to give up the refugees at the demand of Eurystheus. The story says that an oracle was given the Athenians that one of the children of Heracles must die a voluntary death, or else victory could not be theirs. Thereupon Macaria, daughter of Deïaneira and Heracles, slew herself and gave to the Athenians victory in the war and to the spring her own name. There is at Marathon a lake which for the most part is marshy. Into this ignorance of the roads made the foreigners fall in their flight, and it is said that this accident was the cause of their great losses. Above the lake are the stone stables of Artaphernes' horses, and marks of his tent on the rocks. Out of the lake flows a river, affording near the lake itself water suitable for cattle, but near its mouth it becomes salt and full of sea fish. A little beyond the plain is the Hill of Pan and a remarkable Cave of Pan. The entrance to it is narrow, but farther in are chambers and baths and the so-called "Pan's herd of goats," which are rocks shaped in most respects like to goats.

XXXIII. Μαραθῶνος δὲ ἀπέχει τῇ μὲν Βραυρών, ἔνθα Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐκ Ταύρων φεύγουσαν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀγομένην τὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀποβῆναι λέγουσι, καταλιποῦσαν δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ταύτῃ καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι· ξόανον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτόθι ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἀρχαῖον, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων οἵτινες κατὰ γνώμην ἔχουσι τὴν ἐμήν, ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ δηλώσω·
2 Μαραθῶνος δὲ σταδίους μάλιστα ἑξήκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥαμνοῦς τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Ὠρωπόν. καὶ αἱ μὲν οἰκήσεις ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσί, μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Νεμέσεώς ἐστιν ἱερόν, ἣ θεῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὑβρισταῖς ἐστιν ἀπαραίτητος. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς Μαραθῶνα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαντῆσαι μήνιμα ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης· καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ μηδέν σφισιν ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλεῖν, λίθον Πάριον ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις ἦγον ἐς τροπαίου
3 ποίησιν. τοῦτον Φειδίας τὸν λίθον εἰργάσατο ἄγαλμα μὲν εἶναι Νεμέσεως, τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ ἔπεστι τῆς θεοῦ στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχων καὶ Νίκης ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα· ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ἔχει τῇ μὲν κλάδον μηλέας, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ φιάλην, Αἰθίοπες δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ πεποίηνται. συμβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχον οὔτε ἀπεδεχόμην τῶν συνιέναι πειθομένων, οἳ πεποιῆσθαι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ φασὶ διὰ ποταμὸν Ὠκεανόν· οἰκεῖν γὰρ Αἰθίοπας ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Νεμέσει δὲ εἶναι πατέρα
4 Ὠκεανόν. Ὠκεανῷ γὰρ οὐ ποταμῷ, θαλάσσῃ δὲ ἐσχάτῃ τῆς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πλεομένης προσοικοῦσιν Ἴβηρες καὶ Κελτοί, καὶ νῆσον Ὠκεανὸς ἔχει

XXXIII. At some distance from Marathon is Brauron, where, according to the legend, Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, landed with the image of Artemis when she fled from the Tauri; leaving the image there she came to Athens also and afterwards to Argos. There is indeed an old wooden image of Artemis here, but who in my opinion have the one taken from the foreigners I will set forth in another place. About sixty stades from Marathon as you go along the road by the sea to Oropus stands Rhamnus. The dwelling houses are on the coast, but a little way inland is a sanctuary of Nemesis, the most implacable deity to men of violence. It is thought that the wrath of this goddess fell also upon the foreigners who landed at Marathon. For thinking in their pride that nothing stood in the way of their taking Athens, they were bringing a piece of Parian marble to make a trophy, convinced that their task was already finished. Of this marble Pheidias made a statue of Nemesis, and on the head of the goddess is a crown with deer and small images of Victory. In her left hand she holds an apple branch, in her right hand a cup on which are wrought Aethiopians. As to the Aethiopians, I could hazard no guess myself, nor could I accept the statement of those who are convinced that the Aethiopians have been carved upon the cup because of the river Ocean. For the Aethiopians, they say, dwell near it, and Ocean is the father of Nemesis. It is not the river Ocean, but the farthest part of the sea navigated by man, near which dwell the Iberians and the Celts, and Ocean surrounds the island of

τὴν Βρεττανῶν· Αἰθιόπων δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ Συήνης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἔσχατοι τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν κατοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγοι, καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὃν περιοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγων ὀνομάζεται. οἱ δὲ δικαιότατοι Μερόην πόλιν καὶ πεδίον Αἰθιοπικὸν καλούμενον οἰκοῦσιν· οὗτοι καὶ τὴν ἡλίου τράπεζάν εἰσιν οἱ δεικνύντες, οὐδέ σφισιν ἔστιν οὔτε θάλασσα οὔτε ποταμὸς
5 ἄλλος γε ἢ Νεῖλος. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πρόσοικοι Μαύροις Αἰθίοπες ἄχρι Νασαμώνων παρήκοντες. Νασαμῶνες γάρ, οὓς Ἄτλαντας Ἡρόδοτος, οἱ δὲ μέτρα φάμενοι γῆς εἰδέναι Λιξίτας καλοῦσι, Λιβύων οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς Ἄτλαντι οἰκοῦσι σπείροντες μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀμπέλων ζῶντες ἀγρίων. ποταμὸς δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν οὐδὲ τοῖς Νασαμῶσίν ἐστιν οὐδείς· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τῷ Ἄτλαντι ὕδωρ, τρισὶ παρεχόμενον ἀρχὰς ῥεύμασιν, οὐδὲν τῶν ῥευμάτων ποιεῖ ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὁμοίως αὐτίκα ἔχει συλλαβοῦσα ἡ ψάμμος. οὕτως Αἰθίοπες ποταμῷ γε οὐδενὶ προσοικοῦσιν
6 Ὠκεανῷ. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἄτλαντος θολερόν τέ ἐστι καὶ πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ κροκόδειλοι διπήχεων ἦσαν οὐκ ἐλάσσους, προσιόντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεδύοντο ἐς τὴν πηγήν. παρίστατο δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοις τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο ἀναφαινόμενον αὖθις ἐκ τῆς ψάμμου ποιεῖν τὸν Νεῖλον Λίγυπτίοις. ὁ δὲ Ἄτλας ὄρος ὑψηλὸν μέν ἐστιν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λέγεται ταῖς κορυφαῖς ψαύειν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἄβατον δὲ ὑπὸ ὕδατος καὶ δένδρων ἃ διὰ παντὸς πέφυκε· τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Νασαμῶνας αὐτοῦ γινώσκεται, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ
7 πέλαγος οὐδένα πω παραπλεύσαντα ἴσμεν. τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· πτερὰ δ' ἔχον οὔτε

Britain. But of the Aethiopians beyond Syene, those who live farthest in the direction of the Red Sea are the Ichthyophagi (*Fish-eaters*), and the gulf round which they live is called after them. The most righteous of them inhabit the city Meroe and what is called the Aethiopian plain. These are they who show the Table of the Sun,[1] and they have neither sea nor river except the Nile. There are other Aethiopians who are neighbours of the Mauri and extend as far as the Nasamones. For the Nasamones, whom Herodotus calls the Atlantes, and those who profess to know the measurements of the earth name the Lixitae, are the Libyans who live the farthest close to Mount Atlas, and they do not till the ground at all, but live on wild vines. But neither these Aethiopians nor yet the Nasamones have any river. For the water near Atlas, which provides a beginning to three streams, does not make any of the streams a river, as the sand swallows it all up at once. So the Aethiopians dwell near no river Ocean. The water from Atlas is muddy, and near the source were crocodiles of not less than two cubits, which when the men approached dashed down into the spring. The thought has occurred to many that it is the reappearance of this water out of the sand which gives the Nile to Egypt. Mount Atlas is so high that its peaks are said to touch heaven, but is inaccessible because of the water and the presence everywhere of trees. Its region indeed near the Nasamones is known, but we know of nobody yet who has sailed along the parts facing the sea. I must now resume. Neither this nor any other

[1] A meadow near the city of the Aethiopians, in which they dined.

τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα Νεμέσεως οὔτε ἄλλο πεποίηται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ Σμυρναίοις τὰ ἀγιώτατα ξόανα ἔχει πτερά· οἱ δὲ ὕστερον—ἐπιφαίνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν θεὸν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρᾶν ἐθέλουσιν—ἐπὶ τούτῳ Νεμέσει πτερὰ ὥσπερ Ἔρωτι ποιοῦσι. νῦν δὲ ἤδη δίειμι ὁπόσα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματός ἐστιν εἰργασμένα, τοσόνδε ἐς τὸ σαφὲς προδηλώσας. Ἑλένῃ Νέμεσιν μητέρα εἶναι λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες, Λήδαν δὲ μαστὸν ἐπισχεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ θρέψαι· πατέρα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ πάντες κατὰ ταὐτὰ Ἑλένης Δία καὶ οὐ Τυνδάρεων εἶναι
8 νομίζουσι. ταῦτα ἀκηκοὼς Φειδίας πεποίηκεν Ἑλένην ὑπὸ Λήδας ἀγομένην παρὰ τὴν Νέμεσιν, πεποίηκε δὲ Τυνδαρέών τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρα σὺν ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα Ἱππέα ὄνομα· ἔστι δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως, πρῶτος οὗτος Ἑρμιόνην τὴν Ἑλένης γυναῖκα λαβών· Ὀρέστης δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν μητέρα τόλμημα παρείθη, παραμεινάσης τε ἐς ἅπαν Ἑρμιόνης αὐτῷ καὶ τεκούσης παῖδα. ἐξῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ καὶ Ἔποχος καλούμενος καὶ νεανίας ἐστὶν ἕτερος· ἐς τούτους ἄλλο μὲν ἤκουσα οὐδέν, ἀδελφοὺς δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς Οἰνόης, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστι τὸ ὄνομα τῷ δήμῳ.

XXXIV. Τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν Ὠρωπίαν μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Ταναγρικῆς, Βοιωτίαν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὖσαν, ἔχουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀθηναῖοι, πολεμήσαντες μὲν τὸν πάντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς χρόνον, κτησάμενοι δὲ οὐ πρότερον βεβαίως πρὶν ἢ Φίλιππος Θήβας ἑλὼν ἔδωκέ σφισιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέγα οὐδὲν ἐς συγγραφὴν παρεχομένη· ἀπέχει δὲ δώδεκα τῆς πόλεως σταδίους μάλιστα

ancient statue of Nemesis has wings, for not even the holiest wooden images of the Smyrnaeans have them, but later artists, convinced that the goddess manifests herself most as a consequence of love, give wings to Nemesis as they do to Love. I will now go on to describe what is figured on the pedestal of the statue, having made this preface for the sake of clearness. The Greeks say that Nemesis was the mother of Helen, while Leda suckled and nursed her. The father of Helen the Greeks like everybody else hold to be not Tyndareus but Zeus. Having heard this legend Pheidias has represented Helen as being led to Nemesis by Leda, and he has represented Tyndareus and his children with a man Hippeus by name standing by with a horse. There are Agamemnon and Menelaus and Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles and first husband of Hermione, the daughter of Helen. Orestes was passed over because of his crime against his mother, yet Hermione stayed by his side in everything and bore him a child. Next upon the pedestal is one called Epochus and another youth; the only thing I heard about them was that they were brothers of Oenoë, from whom the parish has its name.

XXXIV. The land of Oropus, between Attica and the land of Tanagra, which originally belonged to Boeotia, in our time belongs to the Athenians, who always fought for it but never won secure possession until Philip gave it to them after taking Thebes. The city is on the coast and affords nothing remarkable to record. About twelve stades from

2 ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου. λέγεται δὲ Ἀμφιαράῳ φεύγοντι ἐκ Θηβῶν διαστῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἅρμα ὑπεδέξατο· πλὴν οὐ ταύτῃ συμβῆναί φασιν, ἀλλά ἐστιν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Χαλκίδα Ἅρμα καλούμενον. θεὸν δὲ Ἀμφιάραον πρώτοις Ὡρωπίοις κατέστη νομίζειν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἡγηνται. καταλέξαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἔχω γενομένους τότε ἀνθρώπους, οἳ θεῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι τιμὰς ἔχουσι, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀνάκεινται πόλεις, Ἐλεοῦς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ Πρωτεσιλάῳ, Λεβάδεια Βοιωτῶν Τροφωνίῳ· καὶ Ὡρωπίοις ναός τέ ἐστιν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ
3 ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου. παρέχεται δὲ ὁ βωμὸς μέρη· τὸ μὲν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Παιῶνος, τὸ δὲ ἥρωσι καὶ ἡρώων ἀνεῖται γυναιξί, τρίτον δὲ Ἑστίας καὶ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῶν παίδων Ἀμφιλόχου· Ἀλκμαίων δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς Ἐριφύλην ἔργον οὔτε ἐν Ἀμφιαράου τινά, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ τιμὴν ἔχει. τετάρτη δέ ἐστι τοῦ βωμοῦ μοῖρα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πανακείας, ἔτι δὲ Ἰασοῦς καὶ Ὑγείας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Παιωνίας· πέμπτη δὲ πεποίηται νύμφαις καὶ Πανὶ καὶ ποταμοῖς Ἀχελῴῳ καὶ Κηφισῷ. τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βωμὸς καὶ Κιλικίας ἐν Μαλλῷ μαντεῖον ἀψευδέστατον τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ.
4 ἔστι δὲ Ὡρωπίοις πηγὴ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, ἣν Ἀμφιαράου καλοῦσιν, οὔτε θύοντες οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὴν οὔτ' ἐπὶ καθαρσίοις ἢ χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι νομίζοντες· νόσου δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἀνδρὶ μαντεύματος γενομένου καθέστηκεν ἄργυρον ἀφεῖναι καὶ χρυσὸν[1] ἐπίσημον ἐς τὴν πηγήν, ταύτῃ γὰρ

[1] ἢ χρυσὸν Hitzig.

the city is a sanctuary of Amphiaraus. Legend says that when Amphiaraus was exiled from Thebes the earth opened and swallowed both him and his chariot. Only they say that the incident did not happen here, the place called the Chariot being on the road from Thebes to Chalcis. The divinity of Amphiaraus was first established among the Oropians, from whom afterwards all the Greeks received the cult. I can enumerate other men also born at this time who are worshipped among the Greeks as gods; some even have cities dedicated to them, such as Eleüs in Chersonnesus dedicated to Protesilaus, and Lebadea of the Boeotians dedicated to Trophonius. The Oropians have both a temple and a white marble statue of Amphiaraus. The altar shows parts. One part is to Heracles, Zeus, and Apollo Healer, another is given up to heroes and to wives of heroes, the third is to Hestia and Hermes and Amphiaraus and the children of Amphilochus. But Alcmaeon, because of his treatment of Eriphyle, is honoured neither in the temple of Amphiaraus nor yet with Amphilochus. The fourth portion of the altar is to Aphrodite and Panacea, and further to Iaso, Health and Athena Healer. The fifth is dedicated to the nymphs and to Pan, and to the rivers Acheloüs and Cephisus. The Athenians too have an altar to Amphilochus in the city, and there is at Mallus in Cilicia an oracle of his which is the most trustworthy of my day. The Oropians have near the temple a spring, which they call the Spring of Amphiaraus; they neither sacrifice into it nor are wont to use it for purifications or for lustral water. But when a man has been cured of a disease through a response the custom is to throw silver and coined gold into the spring, for

ἀνελθεῖν τὸν Ἀμφιάραον λέγουσιν ἤδη θεόν. Ἰοφῶν δὲ Κνώσσιος τῶν ἐξηγητῶν χρησμοὺς ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ παρείχετο, Ἀμφιάραον χρῆσαι φάμενος τοῖς ἐς Θήβας σταλεῖσιν Ἀργείων. ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη τὸ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπαγωγὸν ἀκρατῶς εἶχε· χωρὶς δὲ πλὴν ὅσους ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος μανῆναι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, μάντεών γ' οὐδεὶς χρησμολόγος ἦν, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ὀνείρατα ἐξηγήσασθαι καὶ διαγνῶναι πτήσεις ὀρνίθων καὶ σπλάγχνα
5 ἱερείων. δοκῶ δὲ Ἀμφιάραον ὀνειράτων διακρίσει μάλιστα προσκεῖσθαι· δῆλος δέ, ἡνίκα ἐνομίσθη θεός, δι' ὀνειράτων μαντικὴν καταστησάμενος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καθήρασθαι νομίζουσιν ὅστις ἦλθεν Ἀμφιαράῳ χρησόμενος· ἔστι δὲ καθάρσιον τῷ θεῷ θύειν, θύουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν ὅσοις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὰ ὀνόματα· προεξειργασμένων δὲ τούτων κριὸν θύσαντες καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὑποστρωσάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἀναμένοντες δήλωσιν ὀνείρατος.

XXXV. Νῆσοι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐ πόρρω τῆς χώρας εἰσίν, ἡ μὲν Πατρόκλου καλουμένη — τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἤδη μοι δεδήλωται —, ἄλλη δὲ ὑπὲρ Σουνίου τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παραπλέουσιν· ἐς ταύτην ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν Ἑλένην μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν
2 τὴν Ἰλίου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὄνομά ἐστιν Ἑλένη τῇ νήσῳ. Σαλαμὶς δὲ κατὰ Ἐλευσῖνα κειμένη παρήκει καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρικήν. πρῶτον δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τὸ ὄνομα θέσθαι τοῦτο Κυχρέα[1] ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σαλαμῖνος τῆς Ἀσωποῦ, καὶ ὕστερον Αἰγινήτας τοὺς σὺν Τελαμῶνι ἐποικῆσαι· Φίλαιον δὲ τὸν

[1] Κυχρέα added by Sylburg.

by this way they say that Amphiaraus rose up after he had become a god. Iophon the Cnossian, a guide, produced responses in hexameter verse, saying that Amphiaraus gave them to the Argives who were sent against Thebes. These verses unrestrainedly appealed to popular taste. Except those whom they say Apollo inspired of old none of the seers uttered oracles, but they were good at explaining dreams and interpreting the flights of birds and the entrails of victims. My opinion is that Amphiaraus devoted himself most to the exposition of dreams. It is manifest that, when his divinity was established, it was a dream oracle that he set up. One who has come to consult Amphiaraus is wont first to purify himself. The mode of purification is to sacrifice to the god, and they sacrifice not only to him but also to all those whose names are on the altar. And when all these things have been first done, they sacrifice a ram, and, spreading the skin under them, go to sleep and await enlightenment in a dream.

XXXV. There are islands not far from Attica. Of the one called the Island of Patroclus I have already given an account.[1] There is another when you have sailed past Sunium with Attica on the left. On this they say that Helen landed after the capture of Troy, and for this reason the name of the island is Helene. Salamis lies over against Eleusis, and stretches as far as the territory of Megara. It is said that the first to give this name to the island was Cychreus, who called it after his mother Salamis, the daughter of Asopus, and afterwards it was colonised by the Aeginetans with Telamon. Philaeus,

[1] See p. 3.

Εὐρυσάκους τοῦ Αἴαντος παραδοῦναι λέγουσιν Ἀθηναίοις τὴν νῆσον, γενόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀθηναῖον. Σαλαμινίους δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τούτων ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀναστάτους ἐποίησαν, καταγνόντες ἐθελοκακῆσαι σφᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Κάσσανδρον καὶ τὴν πόλιν γνώμῃ τὸ πλέον Μακεδόσιν ἐνδοῦναι· καὶ Λίσχητάδου τε κατέγνωσαν θάνατον, ὃς τότε ᾔρητο ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα στρατηγός, καὶ ἐς τὸν πάντα ἐπώμοσαν χρόνον Σαλαμινίοις ἀπομνημονεύσειν
3 προδοσίαν. ἔστι δὲ ἀγορᾶς τε ἔτι ἐρείπια καὶ ναὸς Αἴαντος, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐξ ἑβένου ξύλου· διαμένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε τῷ Αἴαντι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τιμαὶ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Εὐρυσάκει, καὶ γὰρ Εὐρυσάκους βωμός ἐστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις. δείκνυται δὲ λίθος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ λιμένος· ἐπὶ τούτου καθήμενον Τελαμῶνα ὁρᾶν λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἀποπλεόντων οἱ τῶν παίδων ἐς Αὐλίδα
4 ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων στόλον. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἰκοῦντες ἀποθανόντος Αἴαντος τὸ ἄνθος σφίσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ τότε φανῆναι πρῶτον· λευκόν ἐστιν, ὑπέρυθρον, κρίνου καὶ αὐτὸ ἔλασσον καὶ τὰ φύλλα· γράμματα δὲ ἔπεστιν οἷα τοῖς ὑακίνθοις καὶ τούτῳ. λόγον δὲ τῶν μὲν Αἰολέων τῶν ὕστερον οἰκησάντων Ἴλιον ἐς τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἥκουσα, οἳ τῆς ναυαγίας Ὀδυσσεῖ συμβάσης ἐξενεχθῆναι κατὰ τὸν τάφον τὸν Αἴαντος τὰ ὅπλα λέγουσι· τὸ δὲ
5 ἐς τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ Μυσὸς ἔλεγεν ἀνήρ. τοῦ γὰρ τάφου τὰ πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἔφασκεν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐς τὸ μνῆμα

the son of Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, is said to have handed the island over to the Athenians, having been made an Athenian by them. Many years afterwards the Athenians drove out all the Salaminians, having discovered that they had been guilty of treachery in the war with Cassander, and 318 B.C. mainly of set purpose had surrendered to the Macedonians. They sentenced to death Aeschetades, who on this occasion had been elected general for Salamis, and they swore never to forget the treachery of the Salaminians. There are still the remains of a market-place, a temple of Ajax and his statue in ebony. Even at the present day the Athenians pay honours to Ajax himself and to Eurysaces, for there is an altar of Eurysaces also at Athens. In Salamis is shown a stone not far from the harbour, on which they say that Telamon sat when he gazed at the ship in which his children were sailing away to Aulis to take part in the joint expedition of the Greeks. Those who dwell about Salamis say that it was when Ajax died that the flower first appeared in their country. It is white and tinged with red, both flower and leaves being smaller than those of the lily; there are letters on it like to those on the iris. About the judgment concerning the armour I heard a story of the Aeolians who afterwards settled at Ilium, to the effect that when Odysseus suffered shipwreck the armour was cast ashore near the grave of Ajax. As to the hero's size, a Mysian was my informant. He said that the sea flooded the side of the grave facing the beach and made it easy to enter the tomb,

οὐ χαλεπὴν ποιῆσαι, καί με τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ μέγεθος τεκμαίρεσθαι τῇδε ἐκέλευε· πεντάθλου γὰρ παιδὸς εἶναί οἱ κατὰ δίσκον μάλιστα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ὀστᾶ, καλουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν μύλας. ἐγὼ δέ, ὁπόσοι μὲν οἰκοῦσιν ἔσχατοι Κελτῶν ἔχοντες ὅμορον τῇ διὰ κρυμὸν ἐρήμῳ, οὓς Καβαρεῖς ὀνομάζουσι, τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμασα τὸ μῆκος, οἳ νεκρῶν οὐδέν τι διαφόρως ἔχουσιν Αἰγυπτίων· ὁπόσα δὲ ἄξια ἐφαίνετο
6 εἶναί μοι θέας, διηγήσομαι. Μάγνησι τοῖς ἐπὶ Ληθαίῳ Πρωτοφάνης τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνείλετο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης· τούτου λησταὶ κερδαινεῖν πού τι δοκοῦντες ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὸν τάφον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς λησταῖς ἐσῆεσαν ἤδη θεασόμενοι τὸν νεκρὸν τὰς πλευρὰς οὐκ ἔχοντα διεστώσας, ἀλλά οἱ συμφυὲς ἦν ὅσον ἀπ' ὤμων ἐς τὰς ἐλαχίστας πλευράς, καλουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν νύθας. ἔστι δὲ Μιλησίοις πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Λάδη νῆσος, ἀπερρώγασι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νησῖδες· Ἀστερίου τὴν ἑτέραν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὸν Ἀστέριον ἐν αὐτῇ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν, εἶναι δὲ Ἀστέριον μὲν Ἄνακτος, Ἄνακτα δὲ Γῆς παῖδα· ἔχει δ' οὖν ὁ νεκρὸς οὐδέν τι μεῖον πηχῶν
7 δέκα. τὸ δ' ἐμοὶ θαῦμα παρασχόν, Λυδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη Τμήνου θύραι· ἐνταῦθα παραγενόντος λόφου διὰ χειμῶνα ὀστᾶ ἐφάνη τὸ σχῆμα παρέχοντα ἐς πίστιν ὡς ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου, ἐπεὶ διὰ μέγεθος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἔδοξεν. αὐτίκα δὲ λόγος ἦλθεν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Γηρυόνου τοῦ Χρυσάορος εἶναι μὲν τὸν νεκρόν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον· καὶ γὰρ θρόνος ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἐνειργασμένος ὄρους λιθώδει προβολῇ· καὶ

and he bade me form an estimate of the size of the corpse in the following way. The bones on his knees, called by doctors the knee-pan, were in the case of Ajax as big as the quoit of a boy in the *pentathlon*. I saw nothing to wonder at in the stature of those Celts who live farthest off on the borders of the land which is uninhabited because of the cold; these people, the Cabares, are no bigger than Egyptian corpses. But I will relate all that appeared to me worth seeing. For the Magnesians on the Lethaeus, Protophanes, one of the citizens, won at Olympia in one day victories in the *pancration*[1] and in wrestling. Into the grave of this man robbers entered, thinking to gain some advantage, and after the robbers people came in to see the corpse, which had ribs not separated but joined together from the shoulders to the smallest ribs, those called by doctors *bastard*. Before the city of the Milesians is an island called Lade, and from it certain islets are detached. One of these they call the islet of Asterius, and say that Asterius was buried in it, and that Asterius was the son of Anax, and Anax the son of Earth. Now the corpse is not less than ten cubits. But what really caused me surprise is this. There is a small city of upper Lydia called The Doors of Temenus. There a crest broke away in a storm, and there appeared bones the shape of which led one to suppose that they were human, but from their size one would never have thought it. At once the story spread among the multitude that it was the corpse of Geryon, the son of Chrysaor, and that the seat also was his. For there is a man's seat carved on a rocky spur of the mountain. And a torrent they

[1] Boxing and wrestling combined.

χείμαρρόν τε ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐκάλουν καὶ βοῶν ἤδη κέρασιν ἔφασάν τινας ἐντυχεῖν ἀροῦντας, διότι ἔχει λόγος βοῦς ἀρίστας θρέψαι τὸν Γηρυόνην. 8 ἐπεὶ δὲ σφισιν ἐναντιούμενος ἀπέφαινον ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι Γηρυόνην, οὗ μνῆμα μὲν οὔ, δένδρον δὲ παρεχόμενον διαφόρους μορφάς, ἐνταῦθα οἱ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐξηγηταὶ τὸν ὄντα ἐδείκνυον λόγον, ὡς εἴη μὲν ὁ νεκρὸς Ὕλλου, παῖς δὲ Ὕλλος εἴη Γῆς, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς ὠνομάσθη· Ἡρακλέα δὲ διὰ τὴν παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ ποτὲ ἔφασαν δίαιταν Ὕλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλέσαι τὸν παῖδα.

XXXVI. Ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ—ἐπάνειμι γὰρ ἐς τὸν προκείμενον λόγον—τοῦτο μὲν Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστιν ἱερόν, τοῦτο δὲ τρόπαιον ἕστηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους αἴτιος ἐγένετο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι· καὶ Κυχρέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ναυμαχούντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Μήδους δράκοντα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ λέγεται φανῆναι· τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν Ἀθηναίοις Κυχρέα εἶναι τὸν ἥρωα. 2 νῆσος δὲ πρὸ Σαλαμῖνός ἐστι καλουμένη Ψυττάλεια· ἐς ταύτην τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσον τετρακοσίους ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν, ἡττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξου ναυτικοῦ καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσθαι φασὶν ἐπιδιαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ σὺν τέχνῃ μέν ἐστιν οὐδέν, Παιὼν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστον ἔτυχε ξύανα πεποιημένα.

3 Ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐπ' Ἐλευσῖνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ὁδὸν ἱεράν, Ἀνθεμοκρίτου πεποίηται μνῆμα. ἐς τοῦτον Μεγαρεῦσίν ἐστιν ἀνοσιώτατον ἔργον, οἳ κήρυκα ἐλθόντα, ὡς μὴ τοῦ λοι-

called the river Ocean, and they said that men ploughing met with the horns of cattle, for the story is that Geryon reared excellent cows. And when I criticised the account and pointed out to them that Geryon is at Gadeira, where there is, not his tomb, but a tree showing different shapes, the guides of the Lydians related the true story, that the corpse is that of Hyllus, a son of Earth, from whom the river is named. They also said that Heracles from his sojourning with Omphale called his son Hyllus after the river.

XXXVI. But I will return to my subject. In Salamis is a sanctuary of Artemis, and also a trophy erected in honour of the victory which Themistocles the son of Neocles won for the Greeks. There is also a sanctuary of Cychreus. When the Athenians were fighting the Persians at sea, a serpent is said to have appeared in the fleet, and the god in an oracle told the Athenians that it was Cychreus the hero. Before Salamis there is an island called Psyttalea. Here they say that about four hundred of the Persians landed, and when the fleet of Xerxes was defeated, these also were killed after the Greeks had crossed over to Psyttalea. The island has no artistic statue, only some roughly carved wooden images of Pan. 480 B.C.

As you go to Eleusis from Athens along what the Athenians call the Sacred Way you see the tomb of Anthemocritus.[1] The Megarians committed against him a most wicked deed, for when he had come as a herald to forbid them to encroach upon the land in

[1] Just before the Peloponnesian War.

πού τὴν χώραν ἐπεργάζοιντο, κτείνουσιν Ἀνθε-
μόκριτον· καί σφισι ταῦτα δράσασι παραμένει
καὶ ἐς τόδε μήνιμα ἐκ τοῖν θεοῖν, οἷς οὐδὲ Ἀδριανὸς
ὁ βασιλεὺς ὥστε καὶ ἐπαυξηθῆναι μόνοις ἐπήρ-
4 *κεσεν* Ἑλλήνων. *μετὰ δὲ τοῦ* Ἀνθεμοκρίτου *τὴν*
στήλην Μολοττοῦ *τε τάφος ἐστὶν ἀξιωθέντος*
Ἀθηναίων *καὶ τούτου στρατηγεῖν, ὅτε* Πλου-
τάρχῳ βοηθοῦντες διέβησαν ἐς Εὔβοιαν, *καὶ*
χωρίον Σκῖρον *ἐπὶ τοιῷδε καλούμενον.* Ἐλευ-
σινίοις πολεμοῦσι πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα *ἀνὴρ μάντις*
ἦλθεν ἐκ Δωδώνης *ὄνομα* Σκῖρος, *ὃς καὶ τῆς*
Σκιράδος *ἱδρύσατο* Ἀθηνᾶς *ἐπὶ* Φαληρῷ *τὸ ἀρ-*
χαῖον ἱερόν· πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ θά-
πτουσιν Ἐλευσίνιοι *πλησίον ποταμοῦ χειμάρρου,*
καὶ τῷ τε χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥρωός ἐστι
5 *καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ. πλησίον δὲ πεποίηται* Κηφισο-
δώρου μνῆμα δήμου προστάντος καὶ Φιλίππῳ *τῷ*
Δημητρίου Μακεδόνων *βασιλεύοντι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα*
ἐναντιωθέντος· συμμάχους δὲ ἐπήγετο Κηφισό-
δωρος Ἀθηναίοις *γενέσθαι βασιλεῖς μὲν* Ἄτταλον
τὸν Μυσὸν *καὶ* Πτολεμαῖον *τὸν* Αἰγύπτιον, *ἔθνη*
δὲ αὐτόνομα Αἰτωλοὺς *καὶ νησιωτῶν* Ῥοδίους *καὶ*
6 Κρῆτας. *ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐξ* Αἰγύπτου *καὶ* Μυσίας
καὶ παρὰ τῶν Κρητῶν *τὰ πολλὰ ὑστέριζον αἱ*
βοήθειαι, Ῥόδιοι *δὲ μόναις ναυσὶν ἰσχύοντες*
πρὸς ὁπλίτας τοὺς Μακεδόνας *οὐ μεγάλα ὠφέ-*
λουν, ἐνταῦθα Κηφισόδωρος *ἐς* Ἰταλίαν *σὺν*
ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίων *πλεύσας ἱκέτευεν ἀμῦναι* Ῥω-
μαίους· οἱ δέ σφισι δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμ-
πουσιν, οἳ τὰ Φιλίππου *καὶ* Μακεδόνων *ἐς το-*
σοῦτο καθεῖλον ὡς ὕστερον Περσέα *τὸν* Φιλίππου
τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον
ἐς Ἰταλίαν *ἀχθῆναι. Φίλιππος δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὁ*

future they put him to death. For this act the wrath of the Two Goddesses lies upon them even to this day, for they are the only Greeks that not even the emperor Hadrian could make more prosperous. After the tombstone of Anthemocritus comes the grave of Molottus, who was deemed worthy of commanding the Athenians when they crossed into Euboea to 350 B.C. reinforce Plutarch,[1] and also a place called Scirum, which received its name for the following reason. The Eleusinians were making war against Erechtheus when there came from Dodona a seer called Scirus, who also set up at Phalerum the ancient sanctuary of Athena Sciras. When he fell in the fighting the Eleusinians buried him near a torrent, and the hero has given his name to both place and torrent. Hard by is the tomb of Cephisodorus, who was champion of the people and opposed to the utmost Philip, the son of Demetrius, king of Macedon. Cephisodorus induced to become allies of Athens two kings, Attalus the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian, and, of the self-governing peoples, the Aetolians with the Rhodians and the Cretans among the islanders. As the reinforcements from Egypt, Mysia, and Crete were for the most part too late, and the Rhodians, whose strength lay only in their fleet, were of little help against the Macedonian men-at-arms, Cephisodorus 198 B.C. sailed with other Athenians to Italy and begged aid of the Romans. They sent a force and a general, who so reduced Philip and the Macedonians that afterwards Perseus, the son of Philip, lost his throne and was himself taken prisoner to Italy. This Philip

[1] Tyrant of Eretria in Euboea.

Δημητρίου· πρῶτος γὰρ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἔσχε Δημήτριος τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἀποκτείνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Κασσάνδρου παῖδα, ὡς τὰ πρότερον ἔχει μοι τοῦ λόγου.

XXXVII. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κηφισοδώρου τὸ μνῆμα τέθαπται μὲν Ἡλιόδωρος Ἄλις·[1] τούτου γραφὴν ἰδεῖν ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· τέθαπται δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς Πολιάρχου, τρίτος ἀπόγονος Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ Ξέρξῃ καὶ Μήδοις ἐναντία ναυμαχήσαντος. τοὺς δὲ κατωτέρω τοῦ γένους πλὴν Ἀκεστίου παρήσω τοὺς ἄλλους· Ἀκεστίῳ δὲ τῇ Ξενοκλέους τοῦ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ Λέοντος τούτους τε ἐς τὸν τέταρτον πρόγονον Λέοντα δαδούχους πάντας ὑπῆρξε γενέσθαι καὶ παρὰ τὸν βίον τὸν αὐτῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σοφοκλέα εἶδε δαδουχοῦντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ τὸν ἄνδρα Θεμιστοκλέα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου Θεόφραστον τὸν παῖδα. ταύτῃ μὲν τύχην τοιαύ-
2 την συμβῆναι λέγουσι· προελθοῦσι δὲ ὀλίγον Λακίου τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρως καὶ δῆμος ὃν Λακιάδας ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τούτου, καὶ Νικοκλέους Ταραντίνου ἐστὶ μνῆμα, ὃς ἐπὶ μέγιστον δόξης κιθαρῳδῶν ἁπάντων ἦλθεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ζεφύρου τε βωμὸς καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ τῆς παιδός· σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἔχουσι τιμάς. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλόν φασιν οἴκῳ Δήμητρα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναί οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ·

ἐνθάδ' ἄναξ ἥρως Φύταλός ποτε δέξατο σεμνὴν
Δήμητραν, ὅτε πρῶτον ὀπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν,

[1] Ἀλαιεὺς Leake.

was the son of Demetrius. Demetrius was the first of this house to hold the throne of Macedon, having put to death Alexander, son of Cassander, as I have related in a former part of my account.

XXXVII. After the tomb of Cephisodorus is the grave of Heliodorus Halis.[1] A portrait of this man is also to be seen in the great temple of Athena. Here too is the grave of Themistocles, son of Poliarchus, and grandson of the Themistocles who fought the sea fight against Xerxes and the Persians. Of the later descendants I shall mention none except Acestium. She, her father Xenocles, his father Sophocles, and his father Leon, all of them up to her great-grandfather Leon won the honour of being torch-bearer, and in her own lifetime she saw as torch-bearers, first her brother Sophocles, after him her husband Themistocles, and after his death her son Theophrastus. Such was the fortune, they say, that happened to her. A little way past the grave of Themistocles is a precinct sacred to Lacius, a hero, a parish called after him Laciadae, and the tomb of Nicocles of Tarentum, who won a unique reputation as a harpist. There is also an altar of Zephyrus and a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter. With them Athena and Poseidon are worshipped. There is a legend that in this place Phytalus welcomed Demeter in his home, for which act the goddess gave him the fig tree. This story is borne out by the inscription on the grave of Phytalus :—

"Hero and king, Phytalus here welcome gave to Demeter,
August goddess, when first she created fruit of the harvest ;

[1] Nothing more is known of this man.

ἣν ἱερὰν συκῆν θνητῶν γένος ἐξονομάζει·
ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγήρως.

3 Πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Κηφισὸν Θεοδώρου μνῆμά ἐστι τραγῳδίαν ὑποκριναμένου τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ἄριστα. ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Μνησιμάχης, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀνάθημα κειρομένου οἱ τὴν κόμην τοῦ παιδός ἐστι τῷ Κηφισῷ· καθεστάναι δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι τοῦτο Ἕλλησι τῇ Ὁμήρου τις ἂν τεκμαίροιτο ποιήσει, ὃς τὸν Πηλέα εὔξασθαί φησι τῷ Σπερχειῷ κερεῖν ἀνασωθέντος ἐκ Τροίας Ἀχιλλέως τὴν κόμην.

4 Διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Κηφισὸν βωμός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος Μειλιχίου Διός· ἐπὶ τούτῳ Θησεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Φυτάλου καθαρσίων ἔτυχε, λῃστὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἀποκτείνας καὶ Σίνιν τὰ πρὸς Πιτθέως συγγενῆ. τάφος δὲ ἔστι μὲν αὐτόθι Θεοδέκτου τοῦ Φασηλίτου, ἔστι δὲ Μνησιθέου· τοῦτον λέγουσιν ἰατρόν τε ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἀγάλματα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Ἴακχος πεποίηται. ᾠκοδόμηται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ναὸς οὐ μέγας καλούμενος Κυαμίτου· σαφὲς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν εἴτε πρῶτος κυάμους ἔσπειρεν οὗτος εἴτε τινὰ ἐπεφήμισαν ἥρωα, ὅτι τῶν κυάμων ἀνενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἔστι σφίσιν ἐς Δήμητρα τὴν εὕρεσιν. ὅστις δὲ ἤδη τελετὴν Ἐλευσῖνι εἶδεν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Ὀρφικὰ
5 ἐπελέξατο, οἶδεν ὃ λέγω. μνημάτων δὲ ἃ μάλιστα ἐς μέγεθος καὶ κόσμον ἥκει, τὸ μὲν ἀνδρός ἐστι Ῥοδίου μετοικήσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας, τὸ δὲ Ἄρ-

Sacred fig is the name which mortal men have
assigned it.
Whence Phytalus and his race have gotten
honours immortal."

Before you cross the Cephisus you come to the tomb of Theodorus, the best tragic actor of his day. *A. c.* 370 B.C. By the river is a statue of Mnesimache, and a votive statue of her son cutting his hair as a gift for Cephisus. That this habit has existed from ancient times among all the Greeks may be inferred from the poetry of Homer,[1] who makes Peleus vow that on the safe return of Achilles from Troy he will cut off the young man's hair as a gift for the Spercheüs.

Across the Cephisus is an ancient altar of Zeus Meilichius (*Gracious*). At this altar Theseus obtained purification at the hands of the descendants of Phytalus after killing brigands, including Sinis who was related to him through Pittheus. Here is the grave of Theodectes[2] of Phaselis, and also that of Mnesitheüs. They say that he was a skilful physician and dedicated statues, among which is a representation of Iacchus. On the road stands a small temple called that of Cyamites.[3] I cannot state for certain whether he was the first to sow beans, or whether they gave this name to a hero because they may not attribute to Demeter the discovery of beans. Whoever has been initiated at Eleusis or has read what are called the Orphica[4] knows what I mean. Of the tombs, the largest and most beautiful are that of a Rhodian who settled at Athens, and the one

[1] *Iliad*, xxiii. 141 f. [2] A pupil of Isocrates.
[3] *Cyamos* means "bean."
[4] A poem describing certain aspects of Orphic religion.

παλος Μακεδὼν ἐποίησεν, ὃς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας διέβη ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἀφικόμενος δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ὑπ' αὐτῶν συνελήφθη, διαφθείρας δὲ χρήμασιν ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλους ἀπέδρα, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι Πυθονίκην ἔγημε, γένος μὲν οὐκ οἶδα ὁπόθεν, ἑταιροῦσαν δὲ ἔν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ· ταύτης ἐς τοσοῦτον ἔρωτος προῆλθεν ὡς καὶ μνῆμα ἀποθανούσης ποιῆσαι πάντων ὁπόσα Ἕλλησίν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖα θέας μάλιστα ἄξιον.

6 Ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν ἐν ᾧ κεῖται Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς ἀγάλματα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος· Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ ἐποιήθη μόνῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Κέφαλον γὰρ τὸν Δηίονος συνεξελόντα[1] λέγουσιν Ἀμφιτρύωνι Τηλεβόας τὴν νῆσον οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον, ἣ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κεφαλληνία καλεῖται· μετοικεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τέως ἐν Θήβαις φεύγοντα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν διὰ τὸν Πρόκριδος[2] τῆς γυναικὸς φόνον. δεκάτῃ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ Χαλκῖνος καὶ Δαῖτος ἀπόγονοι Κεφάλου πλεύσαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς ᾔτουν
7 τὸν θεὸν κάθοδον ἐς Ἀθήνας· ὁ δέ σφισι κελεύει θῦσαι πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνι ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἔνθα ἂν ἴδωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τριήρη θέουσαν. γενομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ ποικίλον καλούμενον ὄρος δράκων ἐφάνη σπουδῇ κατὰ τὸν φωλεὸν ἰών· καὶ Ἀπόλλωνί τε θύουσιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὕστερον σφᾶς ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηναῖοι.—μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης ναός ἐστι καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τεῖχος ἀργῶν λίθων θέας ἄξιον.

[1] *συνεξελθόντα*, emended by Xylander.
[2] *πρόκνιδος*, emended by Xylander.

made by the Macedonian Harpalus, who ran away from Alexander and crossed with a fleet from Asia to Europe. On his arrival at Athens he was arrested by the citizens, but ran away after bribing among others the friends of Alexander. But before this he married Pythonice, whose family I do not know, but she was a courtesan at Athens and at Corinth. His love for her was so great that when she died he made her a tomb which is the most noteworthy of all the old Greek tombs.

There is a sanctuary in which are set statues of Demeter, her daughter, Athena, and Apollo. At the first it was built in honour of Apollo only. For legend says that Cephalus, the son of Deïon, having helped Amphitryon to destroy the Teleboans, was the first to dwell in that island which now is called after him Cephallenia, and that he resided till that time at Thebes, exiled from Athens because he had killed his wife Procris. In the tenth generation afterwards Chalcinus and Daetus, descendants of Cephalus, sailed to Delphi and asked the god for permission to return to Athens. He ordered them first to sacrifice to Apollo in that spot in Attica where they should see a man-of-war running on the land. When they reached the mountain called the Many-coloured Mountain a snake was seen hurrying into its hole. In this place they sacrificed to Apollo; afterwards they came to Athens and the Athenians made them citizens. After this is a temple of Aphrodite, before which is a noteworthy wall of unwrought stones

XXXVIII. Οἱ δὲ Ῥειτοὶ καλούμενοι ῥεῦμα μόνον παρέχονται ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ τό γε ὕδωρ θάλασσά ἐστί σφισι· πείθοιτο δὲ ἄν τις καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκιδέων Εὐρίπου ῥέουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς θάλασσαν κοιλοτέραν ἐμπίπτοντες. λέγονται δὲ οἱ Ῥειτοὶ Κόρης ἱεροὶ καὶ Δήμητρος εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔστιν αἱρεῖν μόνοις. οὗτοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἄλλους ὅροι τῆς γῆς
2 Ἐλευσινίοις ἦσαν, καὶ διαβᾶσι τοὺς Ῥειτοὺς πρῶτος ᾤκει Κρόκων, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι βασίλεια καλεῖται Κρόκωνος. τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Κρόκωνα Κελεοῦ θυγατρὶ συνοικῆσαι Σαισάρᾳ λέγουσι· λέγουσι δὲ οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σκαμβωνιδῶν εἰσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ Κρόκωνος μὲν ἀνευρεῖν τάφον οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην, τὸ δὲ Εὐμόλπου μνῆμα κατὰ ταὐτὰ Ἐλευσινίοις ἀπέφαινον καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. τοῦτον τὸν Εὔμολπον ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐκ Θράκης Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα ὄντα καὶ Χιόνης· τὴν δὲ Χιόνην Βορέου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ Ὠρειθυίας φασὶν εἶναι. Ὁμήρῳ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ γένος ἐστὶν οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον, ἐπονομάζει δὲ ἀγήνορα ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸν Εὔμολ-
3 πον. γενομένης δὲ Ἐλευσινίοις μάχης πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἀπέθανε μὲν Ἐρεχθεὺς Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύς, ἀπέθανε δὲ Ἰμμάραδος Εὐμόλπου· καταλύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς Ἐλευσινίους ἐς τὰ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίων κατηκόους ὄντας ἰδίᾳ τελεῖν τὴν τελετήν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τοῖν θεοῖν Εὔμολπος καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες δρῶσιν αἱ Κελεοῦ, καλοῦσι δὲ σφᾶς Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταὐτὰ

XXXVIII. The streams called Rheiti are rivers only in so far as they are currents, for their water is sea water. It is a reasonable belief that they flow beneath the ground from the Euripus of the Chalcidians, and fall into a sea of a lower level. They are said to be sacred to the Maid and to Demeter, and only the priests of these goddesses are permitted to catch the fish in them. Anciently, I learn, these streams were the boundaries between the land of the Eleusinians and that of the other Athenians, and the first to dwell on the other side of the Rheiti was Crocon, where at the present day is what is called the palace of Crocon. This Crocon the Athenians say married Saesara, daughter of Celeüs. Not all of them say this, but only those who belong to the parish of Scambonidae. I could not find the grave of Crocon, but Eleusinians and Athenians agreed in identifying the tomb of Eumolpus. This Eumolpus they say came from Thrace, being the son of Poseidon and Chione. Chione they say was the daughter of the wind Boreas and of Oreithyia. Homer says nothing about the family of Eumolpus, but in his poems styles him "manly." When the Eleusinians fought with the Athenians, Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, was killed, as was also Immaradus, son of Eumolpus. These were the terms on which they concluded the war: the Eleusinians were to have independent control of the mysteries, but in all things else were to be subject to the Athenians. The ministers of the Two Goddesses were Eumolpus and the daughters of Celeüs, whom Pamphos and Homer

καὶ Ὅμηρος Διογένειαν καὶ Παμμερόπην καὶ τρίτην Σαισάραν· τελευτήσαντος δὲ Εὐμόλπου Κήρυξ νεώτερος λείπεται τῶν παίδων, ὃν αὐτοὶ Κήρυκες θυγατρὸς Κέκροπος Ἀγλαύρου καὶ Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ Εὐμόλπου.

4 Ἔστι δὲ Ἱπποθόωντος ἡρῷον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν φυλὴν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ πλησίον Ζάρηκος. τοῦτον μαθεῖν παρὰ Ἀπόλλωνι μουσικὴν φασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ξένον μὲν ἀφικόμενον ἐς τὴν γῆν Λακεδαιμόνιόν τε εἶναι δοκῶ καὶ Ζάρακα ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πόλιν ἀπὸ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσσῃ καλεῖσθαι· εἰ δέ τις Ζάρηξ ἐπιχώριος Ἀθηναίοις ἥρως, οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὸν

5 ἔχω λέγειν.—ῥεῖ δὲ Κηφισὸς πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνι βιαιότερον παρεχόμενος τοῦ προτέρου ῥεῦμα· καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καλοῦσιν Ἐρινεόν, λέγοντες τὸν Πλούτωνα ὅτε ἥρπασε τὴν Κόρην καταβῆναι ταύτῃ. πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ Κηφισῷ λῃστὴν Πολυπήμονα ὄνομα, Προκρούστην δὲ ἐπίκλησιν, Θησεὺς ἀπέ-

6 κτεινεν. Ἐλευσινίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Τριπτολέμου ναός, ἔστι δὲ Προπυλαίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Πατρός, φρέαρ τε καλούμενον Καλλίχορον, ἔνθα πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναῖκες χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ᾖσαν ἐς τὴν θεόν. τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥάριον σπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσι καὶ πρῶτον αὐξῆσαι καρπούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαί σφισι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθέστηκεν. ἐνταῦθα ἅλως καλουμένη

7 Τριπτολέμου καὶ βωμὸς δείκνυται· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ τό τε ὄνειρον ἀπεῖπε γράφειν, καὶ τοῖς οὐ τελεσθεῖσιν, ὁπόσων θέας εἴργονται, δῆλα δήπου μηδὲ πυθέσθαι μετεῖναί σφισιν. Ἐλευσῖνα δὲ ἥρωα, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πόλιν

agree in naming Diogenia, Pammerope, and the third Saesara. Eumolpus was survived by Ceryx, the younger of his sons, whom the Ceryces themselves say was a son of Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, and of Hermes, not of Eumolpus.

There is also a shrine of the hero Hippothoön, after whom the tribe is named, and hard by one of Zarex. The latter they say learned music from Apollo, but my opinion is that he was a Lacedaemonian who came as a stranger to the land, and that after him is named Zarax, a town in the Laconian territory near the sea. If there is a native Athenian hero called Zarex, I have nothing to say concerning him. At Eleusis flows a Cephisus which is more violent than the Cephisus I mentioned above, and by the side of it is the place they call Erineüs, saying that Pluto descended there to the lower world after carrying off the Maid. Near this Cephisus Theseus killed a brigand named Polypemon and surnamed Procrustes. The Eleusinians have a temple of Triptolemus, of Artemis of the Portal, and of Poseidon Father, and a well called Callichorum (*Lovely dance*), where first the women of the Eleusinians danced and sang in praise of the goddess. They say that the plain called Rharium was the first to be sown and the first to grow crops, and for this reason it is the custom to use sacrificial barley and to make cakes for the sacrifices from its produce. Here there is shown a threshing-floor called that of Triptolemus and an altar. My dream forbade the description of the things within the wall of the sanctuary, and the uninitiated are of course not permitted to learn that which they are prevented from seeing. The hero Eleusis, after whom the city is named, some

ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Δαείρας Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς λέγουσι, τοῖς δέ ἐστι πεποιημένα Ὤγυγον εἶναι πατέρα Ἐλευσῖνι· οἱ γὰρ[1] ἀρχαῖοι τῶν λόγων ἅτε οὐ προσόντων σφίσιν ἐπῶν ἄλλα τε πλάσασθαι δεδώκασι καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὰ γένη τῶν ἡρώων.

8 Ἐκ δὲ Ἐλευσῖνος τραπομένοις ἐπὶ Βοιωτῶν, ἐστὶν ὅμορος Ἀθηναίοις ἡ Πλαταιίς. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ Ἐλευθερεῦσιν ὅροι πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦσαν· προσχωρησάντων δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τούτων, οὕτως ἤδη Βοιωτίας ὁ Κιθαιρών ἐστιν ὅρος. προσεχώρησαν δὲ Ἐλευθερεῖς οὐ πολέμῳ βιασθέντες, ἀλλὰ πολιτείας τε ἐπιθυμήσαντες παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ κατ' ἔχθος τὸ Θηβαίων. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ ναός ἐστι Διονύσου, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἐντεῦθεν Ἀθηναίοις ἐκομίσθη τὸ ἀρχαῖον· τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐς μίμησιν ἐκείνου πεποίη-

9 ται. ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον σπήλαιόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ὕδατος πηγὴ ψυχροῦ· λέγεται δὲ ὡς μὲν τὸ σπήλαιον ὡς Ἀντιόπη τεκοῦσα κατάθοιτο ἐς αὐτὸ τοὺς παῖδας, περὶ δὲ τῆς πηγῆς τὸν ποιμένα εὑρόντα τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα σφᾶς λοῦσαι πρῶτον ἀπολύσαντα τῶν σπαργάνων. Ἐλευθερῶν δὲ ἦν μὲν ἔτι τοῦ τείχους, ἦν δὲ καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐρείπια· δήλη δὲ τούτοις ἐστὶ πόλις ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι οἰκισθεῖσα.

XXXIX. Ἑτέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος πρὸς Μέγαρα ἄγει· ταύτην ἐρχομένοις τὴν ὁδὸν φρέαρ ἐστὶν Ἄνθιον καλούμενον. ἐποίησε δὲ Πάμφως ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι καθῆσθαι Δήμητρα μετὰ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῆς παιδὸς γραῒ εἰκασμένην· ἐντεῦ-

[1] ἐλευσίνιοι γὰρ, emended by Schubart.

assert to be a son of Hermes and of Daeira, daughter of Ocean; there are poets, however, who have made Ogygus father of Eleusis. Ancient legends, deprived of the help of poetry, have given rise to many fictions, especially concerning the pedigrees of heroes.

When you have turned from Eleusis to Boeotia you come to the Plataean land, which borders on Attica. Formerly Eleutherae formed the boundary on the side towards Attica, but when it came over to the Athenians henceforth the boundary of Boeotia was Cithaeron. The reason why the people of Eleutherae came over was not because they were reduced by war, but because they desired to share Athenian citizenship and hated the Thebans. In this plain is a temple of Dionysus, from which the old wooden image was carried off to Athens. The image at Eleutherae at the present day is a copy of the old one. A little farther on is a small cave, and beside it is a spring of cold water. The legend about the cave is that Antiope after her labour placed her babies into it; as to the spring, it is said that the shepherd who found the babies washed them there for the first time, taking off their swaddling clothes. Of Eleutherae there were still left the ruins of the wall and of the houses. From these it is clear that the city was built a little above the plain close to Cithaeron.

XXXIX. There is another road from Eleusis, which leads to Megara. As you go along this road you come to a well called Anthium (*Flowery Well*). Pamphos in his poems describes how Demeter in the likeness of an old woman sat at this well after the rape of her

θεν δὲ αὐτὴν ἅτε γυναῖκα Ἀργείαν ὑπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Κελεοῦ κομισθῆναι παρὰ τὴν μητέρα καί οἱ τὴν Μετάνειραν οὕτω πιστεῦσαι
2 τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν ἀνατροφήν. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ἀπωτέρω τοῦ φρέατος ἱερὸν Μετανείρας ἐστὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ τάφοι τῶν ἐπὶ Θήβας. Κρέων γάρ, ὃς ἐδυνάστευε τότε ἐν Θήβαις Λαοδάμαντα ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν Ἐτεοκλέους, οὐ παρῆκε τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἀνελομένοις θάψαι· ἱκετεύσαντος δὲ Ἀδράστου Θησέα καὶ μάχης Ἀθηναίων γενομένης πρὸς Βοιωτούς, Θησεὺς ὡς ἐκράτησε τῇ μάχῃ κομίσας ἐς τὴν Ἐλευσινίαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐνταῦθα ἔθαψε. Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν νεκρῶν λέγουσιν ἐθελονταὶ δοῦναι καὶ συνάψαι μάχην οὔ φασι.—
3 μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς τάφους ἐστὶν Ἀλόπης μνῆμα, ἣν τεκοῦσαν Ἱπποθόωντα ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἀποθανεῖν ἐνταῦθά φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Κερκύονος. εἶναι δὲ ὁ Κερκυὼν λέγεται καὶ τἆλλα ἄδικος ἐς τοὺς ξένους καὶ παλαίειν οὐ βουλομένους· καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος παλαίστρα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Κερκύονος, ὀλίγον τοῦ τάφου τῆς Ἀλόπης ἀπέχων. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Κερκυὼν τοὺς καταστάντας ἐς πάλην διαφθεῖραι πλὴν Θησέως, Θησεὺς δὲ κατεπάλαισεν αὐτὸν σοφίᾳ τὸ πλέον· παλαιστικὴν γὰρ τέχνην εὗρε Θησεὺς πρῶτος καὶ πάλης κατέστη ὕστερον ἀπ' ἐκείνου διδασκαλία· πρότερον δὲ ἐχρῶντο μεγέθει μόνον καὶ ῥώμῃ πρὸς τὰς πάλας.

Τοσαῦτα κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀθηναίοις γνωριμώτατα ἦν ἔν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν, ἀπέκρινε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος μοι τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα.

daughter, how the daughters of Celeüs thence took her as an Argive woman to their mother, and how Metaneira thereupon entrusted to her the rearing of her son. A little farther on from the well is a sanctuary of Metaneira, and after it are graves of those who went against Thebes. For Creon, who at that time ruled in Thebes as guardian of Laodamas the son of Eteocles, refused to allow the relatives to take up and bury their dead. But Adrastus having supplicated Theseus, the Athenians fought with the Boeotians, and Theseus being victorious in the fight carried the dead to the Eleusinian territory and buried them here. The Thebans, however, say that they voluntarily gave up the dead for burial and deny that they engaged in battle. After the graves of the Argives is the tomb of Alope, who, legend says, being mother of Hippothoön by Poseidon was on this spot put to death by her father Cercyon. He is said to have treated strangers wickedly, especially in wrestling with them against their will. So even to my day this place is called the Wrestling Ground of Cercyon, being a little way from the grave of Alope. Cercyon is said to have killed all those who tried a bout with him except Theseus, who outmatched him mainly by his skill. For Theseus was the first to discover the art of wrestling, and through him afterwards was established the teaching of the art. Before him men used in wrestling only size and strength of body.

Such in my opinion are the most famous legends and sights among the Athenians, and from the beginning my narrative has picked out of much material the things that deserve to be recorded.

4 Ἐλευσῖνι δὲ ἤδη πλησιόχωρος ἡ καλουμένη Μεγαρίς· τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἦν καὶ αὕτη τὸ ἀρχαῖον, Πύλα τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπόντος Πανδίονι. μαρτύρια δέ μοι τάφος τε Πανδίονος ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ Νῖσος Αἰγεῖ μὲν πρεσβυτάτῳ τοῦ παντὸς γένους παραχωρήσας Ἀθηναίων ἄρχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς ἄχρι Κορίνθου βασιλεύειν ἀξιωθείς· Νίσαιά τε ἔτι καὶ νῦν Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐπίνειον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖται. Κόδρου δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύοντος στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας Πελοποννήσιοι· καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρὸν ἐκομίζοντο ὀπίσω, Μέγαρα Ἀθηναίων ἑλόντες Κορινθίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἔδωκαν οἰκῆσαι.
5 Μεγαρεῖς μὲν οὕτως ἔθη καὶ φωνὴν μεταβαλόντες Δωριεῖς γεγόνασι, κληθῆναι δὲ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν φασὶν ἐπὶ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ βασιλεύοντος· τότε πρῶτον λέγουσιν ἱερὰ γενέσθαι Δήμητρος αὐτοῖς, τότε ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάσαι Μέγαρα. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσι· Βοιωτοὶ δὲ ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ Μεγαρέα τὸν Ποσειδῶνος οἰκοῦντα ἀφικέσθαι στρατιᾷ Βοιωτῶν φασι Νίσῳ τὸν πρὸς Μίνω πόλεμον συνδιοίσοντα, πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταφῆναί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ πόλει Μέγαρα ὄνομα ἀπὸ τούτου γενέσθαι,
6 πρότερον Νίσα καλουμένῃ. δωδεκάτῃ δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ Κᾶρα τὸν Φορωνέως γενεᾷ λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Λέλεγα ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κληθῆναι Λέλεγας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ· Κλήσωνος δὲ τοῦ Λέλεγος γενέσθαι Πύλαν, τοῦ Πύλα δὲ Σκίρωνα· τοῦτον συνοικῆσαι Πανδίονος θυγατρί, καὶ ὕστερον

Next to Eleusis is the district called Megaris. This too belonged to Athens in ancient times, Pylas the king having left it to Pandion. My evidence is this; in the land is the grave of Pandion, and Nisus, while giving up the rule over the Athenians to Aegeus, the eldest of all the family, was himself made king of Megara and of the territory as far as Corinth. Even at the present day the port of the Megarians is called Nisaea after him. Subsequently in the reign of Codrus the Peloponnesians made an expedition against Athens. Having accomplished nothing brilliant, on their way home they took Megara from the Athenians, and gave it as a dwelling-place to such of the Corinthians and of their other allies as wished to go there. In this way the Megarians changed their customs and dialect and became Dorians, and they say that the city received its name when Car the son of Phoroneus was king in this land. It was then they say that sanctuaries of Demeter were first made by them, and then that men used the name Megara (*Chambers*). This is their history according to the Megarians themselves. But the Boeotians declare that Megareus, son of Poseidon, who dwelt in Onchestus, came with an army of Boeotians to help Nisus wage the war against Minos; that falling in the battle he was buried on the spot, and the city was named Megara from him, having previously been called Nisa. In the twelfth generation after Car the son of Phoroneus the Megarians say that Lelex arrived from Egypt and became king, and that in his reign the tribe Leleges received its name. Lelex they say begat Cleson, Cleson Pylas and Pylas Sciron, who married the daughter of Pandion and afterwards disputed with

Νίσῳ τῷ Πανδίονος ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἐλθεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Σκίρωνα καί σφισιν Αἰακὸν δικάσαι. βασιλείαν μὲν διδόντα Νίσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις, Σκίρωνι δὲ ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι πολέμου. Μεγαρέα δὲ τὸν Ποσειδῶνος θυγατρὶ Νίσου συνοικήσαντα Ἰφινόῃ διαδέξασθαι τὴν τοῦ Νίσου φασὶν ἀρχήν· τὸν δὲ Κρητικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Νίσου βασιλεύοντος ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν εἰδέναι.

XL. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει κρήνη, ἣν σφισιν ᾠκοδόμησε Θεαγένης, οὗ καὶ πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην θυγατέρα αὐτὸν συνοικίσαι Κύλωνι Ἀθηναίῳ. οὗτος ὁ Θεαγένης τυραννήσας ᾠκοδόμησε τὴν κρήνην μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ κόσμου καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κιόνων θέας ἀξίαν· καὶ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν ῥεῖ καλούμενον Σιθνίδων νυμφῶν. τὰς δὲ Σιθνίδας νύμφας λέγουσι Μεγαρεῖς εἶναι μέν σφισιν ἐπιχωρίας, μιᾷ δὲ αὐτῶν συγγενέσθαι Δία, Μέγαρόν τε παῖδα ὄντα Διὸς καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς νύμφης ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνός ποτε ἐπομβρίαν, ἐκφυγεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανίας, οὐκ ἔχοντός πω τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ—νήχεσθαι γὰρ πετομένων γερανῶν πρὸς τὴν βοὴν τῶν ὀρνίθων αὐτόν—διὰ τοῦτο Γερανίαν
2 τὸ ὄρος ὀνομασθῆναι. τῆς δὲ κρήνης οὐ πόρρω ταύτης ἀρχαῖόν ἐστιν ἱερόν, εἰκόνες δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἑστᾶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἄγαλμα κεῖται χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπίκλησιν Σωτείρας. φασὶ δὲ ἄνδρας τοῦ Μαρδονίου στρατοῦ καταδραμόντας τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἀποχωρεῖν ἐς Θήβας ὀπίσω παρὰ Μαρδόνιον ἐθέλειν, γνώμῃ δὲ Ἀρ-

Nisus, the son of Pandion, about the throne, the dispute being settled by Aeacus, who gave the kingship to Nisus and his descendants, and to Sciron the leadership in war. They say further that Nisus was succeeded by Megareus, the son of Poseidon, who married Iphinoë, the daughter of Nisus, but they ignore altogether the Cretan war and the capture of the city in the reign of Nisus.

XL. There is in the city a fountain, which was built for the citizens by Theagenes,[1] whom I have mentioned previously as having given his daughter in marriage to Cylon the Athenian. This Theagenes upon becoming tyrant built the fountain, which is noteworthy for its size, beauty and the number of its pillars. Water flows into it called the water of the Sithnid nymphs. The Megarians say that the Sithnid nymphs are native, and that one of them mated with Zeus; that Megarus, a son of Zeus and of this nymph, escaped the flood in the time of Deucalion, and made his escape to the heights of Gerania. The mountain had not yet received this name, but was then named Gerania (*Crane Hill*) because cranes were flying and Megarus swam towards the cry of the birds. Not far from this fountain is an ancient sanctuary, and in our day likenesses stand in it of Roman emperors, and a bronze image is there of Artemis surnamed Saviour. There is a story that a detachment of the army of Mardonius, having over- 479 B.C.
run Megaris, wished to return to Mardonius at Thebes, but that by the will of Artemis night came

[1] See p. 147.

τέμιδος νύκτα τε ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ σφᾶς ἁμαρτόντας ἐς τὴν ὀρεινὴν τραπέσθαι τῆς χώρας· πειρωμένους δὲ εἰ στράτευμα ἐγγὺς εἴη πολέμιον ἀφιέναι τῶν βελῶν, καὶ τὴν πλησίον πέτραν στένειν βαλλομένην, τοὺς δὲ
3 αὖθις τοξεύειν προθυμίᾳ πλέονι. τέλος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναλωθῆναι τοὺς ὀιστοὺς ἐς ἄνδρας πολεμίους τοξεύειν νομίζουσιν· ἡμέρα τε ὑπεφαίνετο καὶ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἐπῆσαν, μαχόμενοι δὲ ὁπλῖται πρὸς ἀνόπλους καὶ οὐδὲ βελῶν εὐπορουῦντας ἔτι φονεύουσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλούς· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Σωτείρας ἄγαλμα ἐποιήσαντο Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν ἐστιν ἀγάλματα ἔργα εἶναι λεγόμενα Πραξιτέλους· τὴν δὲ Ἄρτεμιν αὐτὴν Στρογγυλίων ἐποίησε.

4 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναός ἐστι θέας ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξειργάσθη τοῦ Διός, ἐπιλαβόντος τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ναυσὶν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ στρατῷ φθείροντες Μεγαρεῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν χώραν τά τε κοινὰ ἐκάκωσαν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοὺς οἴκους ἤγαγον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἀσθενείας. τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ Θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργάσασθαι δέ οἱ Φειδίαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διός εἰσιν Ὧραι καὶ Μοῖραι· δῆλα δὲ πᾶσι τὴν πεπρωμένην μόνῳ οἱ πείσεσθαι καὶ τὰς ὥρας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον νέμειν ἐς τὸ δέον. ὄπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα· ταῦτα ἔμελλεν ὁ Θεόκοσμος ἐλέ-

on them as they marched, and missing their way they turned into the hilly region. Trying to find out whether there was a hostile force near they shot some missiles. The rock near groaned when struck, and they shot again with greater eagerness, until at last they used up all their arrows thinking that they were shooting at the enemy. When the day broke, the Megarians attacked, and being men in armour fighting against men without armour who no longer had even a supply of missiles, they killed the greater number of their opponents. For this reason they had an image made of Artemis Saviour. Here are also images of the gods named the Twelve, said to be the work of Praxiteles. But the image of Artemis herself was made by Strongylion.

After this when you have entered the precinct of Zeus called the Olympieum you see a noteworthy temple. But the image of Zeus was not finished, for the work was interrupted by the war of the Peloponnesians against the Athenians, in which the Athenians every year ravaged the land of the Megarians with a fleet and an army, damaging public revenues and bringing private families to dire distress. The face of the image of Zeus is of ivory and gold, the other parts are of clay and gypsum. The artist is said to have been Theocosmus, a native, helped by Pheidias. Above the head of Zeus are the Seasons and Fates, and all may see that he is the only god obeyed by Destiny, and that he apportions the seasons as is due. Behind the temple lie half-worked pieces of wood, which Theocosmus intended to overlay with ivory

φαντι καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκτελέσειν
5 τοῦ Διός. ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ τριήρους ἀνάκειται
χαλκοῦν ἔμβολον· ταύτην τὴν ναῦν λαβεῖν φασι
περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους·
ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι χρόνον τινὰ Μεγα-
ρεῦσιν ἀποστῆναι τῆς νήσου, Σόλωνα δὲ ὕστερόν
φασιν ἐλεγεῖα ποιήσαντα προτρέψαι σφᾶς, κατα-
στῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀθηναῖοι,
κρατήσαντες δὲ πολέμῳ Σαλαμῖνα αὖθις ἔχειν.
Μεγαρεῖς δὲ παρὰ σφῶν λέγουσιν ἄνδρας φυγάδας,
οὓς Δορυκλείους ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀφικομένους παρὰ
τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κληρούχους προδοῦναι Σαλαμῖνα
Ἀθηναίοις.

6 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν
ἀνελθοῦσι καλουμένην ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως
καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Καρίαν, ἔστι μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς
Νυκτελίου, πεποίηται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιστρο-
φίας ἱερὸν καὶ Νυκτὸς καλούμενόν ἐστι μαντεῖον
καὶ Διὸς Κονίου ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον. τοῦ δὲ
Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα Βρύαξις καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν
Ὑγείαν ἐποίησεν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ
καλούμενον μέγαρον· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βασιλεύ-
οντα Κᾶρα ἔλεγον.

XLI. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κατιοῦσιν, ᾗ πρὸς
ἄρκτον τέτραπται τὸ χωρίον, μνῆμά ἐστιν Ἀλκ-
μήνης πλησίον τοῦ Ὀλυμπιείου. βαδίζουσαι
γὰρ ἐς Θήβας ἐξ Ἄργους τελευτῆσαι καθ' ὁδὸν
λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις, καὶ τοὺς Ἡρα-
κλείδας ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἐλθεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ἐς
Ἄργος ἐθέλοντας ὀπίσω κομίσαι τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς
Ἀλκμήνης, τοὺς δ' αὐτῶν ἐς Θήβας· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς

and gold in order to complete the image of Zeus. In the temple itself is dedicated a bronze ram of a galley. This ship they say that they captured off Salamis in a naval action with the Athenians. The Athenians too admit that for a time they evacuated the island before the Megarians, saying that afterwards Solon[1] wrote elegiac poems and encouraged them, and that thereupon the Athenians challenged their enemies, won the war and recovered Salamis. But the Megarians say that exiles from themselves, whom they call Dorycleans, reached the colonists in Salamis and betrayed the island to the Athenians.

After the precinct of Zeus, when you have ascended the citadel, which even at the present day is called Caria from Car, son of Phoroneus, you see a temple of Dionysus Nyctelius (*Nocturnal*), a sanctuary built to Aphrodite Epistrophia (*She who turns men to love*), an oracle called that of Night and a temple of Zeus Conius (*Dusty*) without a roof. The image of Asclepius and also that of Health were made by Bryaxis. Here too is what is called the Chamber of Demeter, built, they say, by Car when he was king.

XLI. On coming down from the citadel, where the ground turns northwards, is the tomb of Alcmena, near the Olympieum. They say that as she was walking from Argos to Thebes she died on the way at Megara, and that the Heracleidae fell to disputing, some wishing to carry the corpse of Alcmena back to Argos, others wishing to take it to Thebes, as in Thebes

[1] The great legislator, who flourished early in the sixth century B.C.

Ἡρακλέους παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ Μεγάρας τάφον εἶναι καὶ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐν Θήβαις. ὁ δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς ἔχρησε θάψαι Ἀλκμήνην ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις
2 ἄμεινον εἶναί σφισιν. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡμῖν ἐξηγητὴς ἠγεῖτο ἐς χωρίον Ῥοῦν ὡς ἔφασκεν ὀνομαζόμενον, ταύτῃ γὰρ ὕδωρ ποτὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ῥυῆναι· Θεαγένης δέ, ὃς τότε ἐτυράννει, τὸ ὕδωρ ἑτέρωσε τρέψας βωμὸν ἐταῦθα Ἀχελῴῳ ἐποίησε. καὶ Ὕλλου πλησίον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους μνῆμά ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ Ἀρκάδι Ἐχέμῳ τῷ Ἀερόπου μονομαχήσαντος· καὶ ὅστις μὲν Ἔχεμος ὢν ἀπέκτεινεν Ὕλλον, ἑτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου δηλώσω, τέθαπται δὲ καὶ Ὕλλος ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις. αὕτη καλοῖτο ἂν ὀρθῶς στρατεία τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ Ὀρέστου
3 βασιλεύοντος. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ὕλλου μνήματος Ἴσιδος ναὸς καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος· Ἀλκάθουν δέ φασι ποιῆσαι ἀποκτείναντα λέοντα τὸν καλούμενον Κιθαιρώνιον. ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ λέοντος διαφθαρῆναι καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Μεγαρέως φασὶ τοῦ σφετέρου βασιλέως παῖδα Εὔιππον, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ Τίμαλκον ἔτι πρύτερον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Θησέως, στρατεύοντα ἐς Ἄφιδναν σὺν τοῖς Διοσκούροις· Μεγαρέα δὲ γάμον τε ὑποσχέσθαι θυγατρὸς καὶ ὡς διάδοχον ἕξει τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅστις τὸν Κιθαιρώνιον λέοντα ἀποκτείναι· διὰ ταῦτα Ἀλκάθουν τὸν Πέλοπος ἐπιχειρήσαντα τῷ θηρίῳ κρατῆσαί τε καὶ ὡς ἐβασίλευσε τὸ ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, Ἀγροτέραν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα
4 Ἀγραῖον ἐπονομάσαντα. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ γράφειν μὲν ἐθέλω Μεγα-

were buried Amphitryon and the children of Heracles by Megara. But the god in Delphi gave them an oracle that it was better for them to bury Alcmena in Megara. From this place the local guide took us to a place which he said was named Rhus (*Stream*), for that water once flowed here from the mountains above the city. But Theagenes, who was tyrant at that time, turned the water into another direction and made here an altar to Acheloüs. Hard by is the tomb of Hyllus, son of Heracles, who fought a duel with an Arcadian, Echemus the son of Aëropus. Who the Echemus was who killed Hyllus I will tell in another part of my narrative, but Hyllus also is buried at Megara. These events might correctly be called an expedition of the Heracleidae into the Peloponnesus in the reign of Orestes. Not far from the tomb of Hyllus is a temple of Isis, and beside it one of Apollo and of Artemis. They say that Alcathous made it after killing the lion called Cithaeronian. By this lion they say many were slain, including Euippus, the son of Megareus their king, whose elder son Timalcus had before this been killed by Theseus while on a campaign with the Dioscuri against Aphidna. Megareus they say promised that he who killed the Cithaeronian lion should marry his daughter and succeed him in the kingdom. Alcathous therefore, son of Pelops, attacked the beast and overcame it, and when he came to the throne he built this sanctuary, surnaming Artemis Agrotera (*Huntress*) and Apollo Agraeüs (*Hunter*). Such is the account of the Megarians; but although I wish my account to

ρεῦσιν ὁμολογοῦντα, οὐκ ἔχω δὲ ὅπως εὕρωμαι πάντα σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν λέοντα ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ὑπὸ Ἀλκάθου πείθομαι, Μεγαρέως δὲ Τίμαλκον παῖδα τίς μὲν ἐς Ἄφιδναν ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἔγραψε; πῶς δ' ἂν ἀφικόμενος ἀναιρεθῆναι νομίζοιτο ὑπὸ Θησέως, ὅπου καὶ Ἀλκμὰν ποιήσας ἆσμα ἐς τοὺς Διοσκούρους, ὡς Ἀθήνας ἕλοιεν καὶ τὴν Θησέως ἀγάγοιεν μητέρα αἰχμάλωτον, ὅμως Θησέα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀπεῖναι;
5 Πίνδαρος δὲ τούτοις τε κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐποίησε καὶ γαμβρὸν τοῖς Διοσκούροις Θησέα εἶναι βουλόμενον ἁρπασθεῖσαν τὴν Ἑλένην διαφυλάξαι, ἐς ὃ ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν Πειρίθῳ τὸν λεγόμενον γάμον συμπράξοντα. ὅστις δὲ ἐγενεαλόγησε, δῆλον ὡς πολλὴν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι σύνοιδεν εὐήθειαν, εἴ γε Θησεὺς ἦν ἀπόγονος Πέλοπος· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸν ὄντα λόγον οἱ Μεγαρεῖς εἰδότες ἐπικρύπτουσιν, οὐ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν ἁλῶναί σφισιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Νίσου τὴν πόλιν, διαδέξασθαι δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν γαμβρὸν Νίσου τε Μεγαρέα καὶ αὖθις
6 Ἀλκάθουν Μεγαρέως. φαίνεται δὲ τελευτήσαντος Νίσου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐφθαρμένων ὑπὸ τοῦτον Ἀλκάθους ἀφικόμενος τὸν καιρὸν ἐξ Ἤλιδος· μαρτύριον δέ μοι· τὸ γὰρ τεῖχος ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅτε τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου καθαιρεθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν.

Ἀλκάθου μὲν καὶ τοῦ λέοντος, εἴτε ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι αὐτὸν εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρωθι ἀποκτείνας ναὸν Ἀγροτέρας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐποίησεν Ἀγραίου, ἐς τοσόνδε ἔστω μνήμη· ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατιοῦσι Πανδίονός ἐστιν ἡρῷον. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἐτάφη Πανδίων ἐν Αἰθυίας

agree with theirs, yet I cannot accept everything they say. I am ready to believe that a lion was killed by Alcathous on Cithaeron, but what historian has recorded that Timalcus the son of Megareus came with the Dioscuri to Aphidna? And supposing he had gone there, how could one hold that he had been killed by Theseus, when Alcman wrote a poem on the Dioscuri, in which he says that they captured Athens and carried into captivity the mother of Theseus, but Theseus himself was absent? Pindar in his poems agrees with this account, saying that Theseus, wishing to be related to the Dioscuri, carried off Helen and kept her until he departed to carry out with Peirithous the marriage that they tell of. Whoever has studied genealogy finds the Megarians guilty of great silliness, since Theseus was a descendant of Pelops. The fact is that the Megarians know the true story but conceal it, not wishing it to be thought that their city was captured in the reign of Nisus, but that both Megareus, the son-in-law of Nisus, and Alcathous, the son-in-law of Megareus, succeeded their respective fathers-in-law as king. It is evident that Alcathous arrived from Elis just at the time when Nisus had died and the Megarians had lost everything. Witness to the truth of my statement is the fact that he built the wall afresh from the beginning, the old one round the city having been destroyed by the Cretans. c. 640–600 B.C.

Let so much suffice for Alcathous and for the lion, whether it was on Cithaeron or elsewhere that the killing took place that caused him to make a temple to Artemis Agrotera and Apollo Agraeüs. On going down from this sanctuary you see the shrine of the hero Pandion. My narrative has already told how Pandion

Ἀθηνᾶς καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ, δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι· τιμὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρὰ Μεγαρέων ἔχει.

7 Πλησίον δέ ἐστι τοῦ Πανδίονος ἡρῴου μνῆμα Ἱππολύτης· γράψω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁποῖα Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσιν. ὅτε Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους στρατεύσασαι δι' Ἀντιόπην ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ Θησέως, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς συνέβη μαχομένας αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, Ἱππολύτην δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν Ἀντιόπης καὶ τότε ἡγουμένην τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν σὺν ὀλίγαις ἐς Μέγαρα, ἅτε δὲ κακῶς οὕτω πράξασαν τῷ στρατῷ τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀθύμως ἔχουσαν καὶ περὶ τῆς οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Θεμίσκυραν σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀποροῦσαν ὑπὸ λύπης τελευτῆσαι· καὶ θάψαι αὐτὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν, καί οἱ τοῦ μνήματος σχῆμά ἐστιν
8 Ἀμαζονικῇ ἀσπίδι ἐμφερές. τούτου δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω τάφος Τηρέως τοῦ Πρόκνην γήμαντος τὴν Πανδίονος. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ὁ Τηρεύς, ὡς μὲν λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, περὶ τὰς Παγὰς τὰς καλουμένας τῆς Μεγαρίδος, ὡς δὲ ἐγώ τε δοκῶ καὶ τεκμήρια ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Δαυλίδος ἦρχε τῆς ὑπὲρ Χαιρωνείας· πάλαι γὰρ τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος βάρβαροι τὰ πολλὰ ᾤκησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν καὶ Τηρεῖ τὰ ἐς Φιλομήλαν ἐξειργασμένα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐλεῖν
9 σφᾶς ὁ Τηρεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις αὐτοχειρίᾳ, καί οἱ τάφον αὐτίκα ἔχωσαν καὶ θύουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ψηφῖσιν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ ἀντὶ οὐλῶν χρώμενοι καὶ τὸν ἔποπα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἐνταῦθα φανῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσιν· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐς μὲν Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο,

was buried on what is called the Rock of Athena Aethyia (*Gannet*). He receives honours from the Megarians in the city as well.

Near the shrine of the hero Pandion is the tomb of Hippolyte. I will record the account the Megarians give of her. When the Amazons, having marched against the Athenians because of Antiope, were overcome by Theseus, most of them met their death in the fight, but Hippolyte, the sister of Antiope and on this occasion the leader of the women, escaped with a few others to Megara. Having suffered such a military disaster, being in despair at her present situation and even more hopeless of reaching her home in Themiscyra, she died of a broken heart, and the Megarians gave her burial. The shape of her tomb is like an Amazonian shield. Not far from this is the grave of Tereus, who married Procne the daughter of Pandion. The Megarians say that Tereus was king of the region around what is called Pagae (*Springs*) of Megaris, but my opinion, which is confirmed by extant evidence, is that he ruled over Daulis beyond Chaeronea, for in ancient times the greater part of what is now called Greece was inhabited by foreigners. When Tereus did what he did to Philomela and Itys suffered at the hands of the women, Tereus found himself unable to seize them. He committed suicide in Megara, and the Megarians forthwith raised him a barrow, and every year sacrifice to him, using in the sacrifice gravel instead of barley meal; they say that the bird called the hoopoe appeared here for the first time. The women came to Athens, and while

θρηνοῦσαι δὲ οἷα ἔπαθον καὶ οἷα ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ δακρύων διαφθείρονται, καί σφισι τὴν ἐς ἀηδόνα καὶ χελιδόνα μεταβολὴν ἐπεφήμισαν ὅτι οἶμαι καὶ αὗται αἱ ὄρνιθες ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρήνῳ ὅμοιον ᾄδουσιν.

XLII. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Μεγαρεῦσιν ἀκρόπολις ἀπὸ Ἀλκάθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔχουσα· ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνιοῦσίν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Μεγαρέως μνῆμα, ὃς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τῶν Κρητῶν ξύμμαχός σφισιν ἦλθεν ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ. δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἑστία θεῶν Προδομέων καλουμένων. θῦσαι δέ σφισιν Ἀλκάθουν λέγουσι πρῶτον, ὅτε τῆς 2 οἰκοδομίας τοῦ τείχους ἔμελλεν ἄρχεσθαι. τῆς δὲ ἑστίας ἐγγὺς ταύτης ἐστὶ λίθος, ἐφ' οὗ καταθεῖναι λέγουσιν Ἀπόλλωνα τὴν κιθάραν Ἀλκάθῳ τὸ τεῖχος συνεργαζόμενον. δηλοῖ τέ μοι καὶ τόδε ὡς συνετέλουν ἐς Ἀθηναίους Μεγαρεῖς· φαίνεται γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλκάθους Περίβοιαν ἅμα Θησεῖ πέμψαι κατὰ τὸν δασμὸν ἐς Κρήτην. τότε δὲ αὐτῷ τειχίζοντι, ὥς φασιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, συνεργάζεταί τε Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὴν κιθάραν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον· ἦν δὲ τύχῃ βαλών τις ψηφῖδι, κατὰ ταὐτὰ οὐτός τε ἤχησε καὶ κιθάρα κρου- 3 σθεῖσα. ἐμοὶ δὲ παρέσχε μὲν καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσαι, παρέσχε δὲ πολλῷ μάλιστα Αἰγυπτίων ὁ κολοσσός. ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις, διαβᾶσι τὸν Νεῖλον πρὸς τὰς Σύριγγας καλουμένας, εἶδον ἔτι καθήμενον ἄγαλμα ἠχοῦν—Μέμνονα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ πολλοί, τοῦτον γάρ φασιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ὁρμηθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἄχρι Σούσων· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσι, Φαμένωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὗ τοῦτο

lamenting their sufferings and their revenge, perished through their tears; their reported metamorphosis into a nightingale and a swallow is due, I think, to the fact that the note of these birds is plaintive and like a lamentation.

XLII. The Megarians have another citadel, which is named after Alcathous. As you ascend this citadel you see on the right the tomb of Megareus, who at the time of the Cretan invasion came as an ally from Onchestus. There is also shown a hearth of the gods called Prodomeis (*Builders before*). They say that Alcathous was the first to sacrifice to them, at the time when he was about to begin the building of the wall. Near this hearth is a stone, on which they say Apollo laid his lyre when he was helping Alcathous in the building. I am confirmed in my view that the Megarians used to be tributary to the Athenians by the fact that Alcathous appears to have sent his daughter Periboea with Theseus to Crete in payment of the tribute. On the occasion of his building the wall, the Megarians say, Apollo helped him and placed his lyre on the stone; and if you happen to hit it with a pebble it sounds just as a lyre does when struck. This made me marvel, but the colossus in Egypt made me marvel far more than anything else. In Egyptian Thebes, on crossing the Nile to the so-called Pipes, I saw a statue, still sitting, which gave out a sound. The many call it Memnon, who they say from Aethiopia overran Egypt and as far as Susa. The Thebans, however, say that it is a statue, not of Memnon, but of a native named Phamenoph, and I

ἄγαλμα ἦν, ἥκουσα δὲ ἤδη καὶ Σέσωστριν φαμένων εἶναι, ὃ Καμβύσης διέκοψε· καὶ νῦν ὁπόσον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς μέσον σῶμά ἐστιν ἀπερριμμένον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κάθηταί τε καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου βοᾷ, καὶ τὸν ἦχον μάλιστα εἰκάσει τις κιθάρας ἢ λύρας ῥαγείσης χορδῆς.

4 Μεγαρεῦσι δὲ ἔστι μὲν βουλευτήριον, Τιμάλκου δὲ ἦν ποτε ὡς λέγουσι τάφος, ὃν πρότερον ὀλίγου τούτων οὐκ ἔφην ὑπὸ Θησέως ἀποθανεῖν. ᾠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄγαλμα δέ ἐστιν ἐπίχρυσον πλὴν χειρῶν καὶ ἄκρων ποδῶν· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν ἐστιν ἐλέφαντος. καὶ ἕτερον ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς πεποίηται καλουμένης Νίκης καὶ ἄλλο Αἰαντίδος· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Μεγαρέων μὲν παρεῖται τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁποῖα νομίζω γενέσθαι γράψω. Τελαμὼν ὁ Λιακοῦ θυγατρὶ Ἀλκάθου Περιβοίᾳ συνῴκησεν· Αἴαντα οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀλκάθου διαδεξάμενον ποιῆσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἡγοῦμαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

5 Τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος πλίνθου μὲν ἦν ὁ ἀρχαῖος ναός· ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς ᾠκοδόμησεν Ἀδριανὸς λίθου λευκοῦ. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύθιος καλούμενος καὶ ὁ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα ἐοίκασι ξοάνοις, ὃν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐπονομάζουσιν, Αἰγινητικοῖς ἔργοις ἐστὶν ὅμοιος· ἐβένου δὲ πάντα ὁμοίως πεποίηται. ἥκουσα δὲ ἀνδρὸς Κυπρίου διακρῖναι πόας ἐς ἀνθρώπων ἴασιν εἰδότος, ὃς τὴν ἔβενον φύλλα οὐκ ἔφη φύειν οὐδὲ εἶναι καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὐδὲ ὁρᾶσθαι τὸ παράπαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ ἡλίου, ῥίζας δὲ ὑπογαίους εἶναι, ταύτας δὲ ὀρύσσειν τοὺς Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἄνδρας εἶναί

have heard some say that it is Sesostris. This statue was broken in two by Cambyses, and at the present day from head to middle it is thrown down; but the rest is seated, and every day at the rising of the sun it makes a noise, and the sound one could best liken to that of a harp or lyre when a string has been broken.

The Megarians have a council chamber which once, they say, was the grave of Timalcus, who just now I said was not killed by Theseus. On the top of the citadel is built a temple of Athena, with an image gilt except the hands and feet; these and the face are of ivory. There is another sanctuary built here, of Athena Victory, and yet a third of Athena Aeantis (*Ajacian*). About the last the Megarian guides have omitted to record anything, but I will write what I take to be the facts. Telamon the son of Aeacus married Periboea the daughter of Alcathous; so my opinion is that Ajax, who succeeded to the throne of Alcathous, made the statue of Athena.

The ancient temple of Apollo was of brick, but the emperor Hadrian afterwards built it of white marble. The Apollo called Pythian and the one called Decatephorus (*Bringer of Tithes*) are very like the Egyptian wooden images, but the one surnamed Archegetes (*Founder*) resembles Aeginetan works. They are all alike made of ebony. I have heard a man of Cyprus, who was skilled at sorting herbs for medicinal purposes, say that the ebony does not grow leaves or bear fruit, or even appear in the sunlight at all, but consists of underground roots which are dug up by the Aethiopians, who have men skilled at finding

6 σφισιν οἱ τὴν ἔβενον ἴσασιν εὑρίσκειν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Θεσμοφόρου. κατιοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Καλλιπόλιδος μνῆμά ἐστιν Ἀλκάθου παιδός. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλκάθῳ πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς Ἰσχέπολις, ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ πατὴρ Μελεάγρῳ τὸ ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ θηρίον συνεξαιρήσοντα. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτος τεθνεῶτα ἐπύθετο ὁ Καλλίπολις, ἀναδραμὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν—τηνικαῦτα δὲ ὁ πατὴρ οἱ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐνέκαεν—ἀπορρίπτει τὰ ξύλα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ· Ἀλκάθους δὲ ἀνήκοος ὢν ἔτι τῆς Ἰσχεπόλιδος τελευτῆς κατεδίκαζεν οὐ ποιεῖν ὅσια τὸν Καλλίπολιν καὶ εὐθέως ὡς εἶχεν ὀργῆς ἀπέκτεινε παίσας ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν ἀπορριφέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ξύλῳ.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ὁδὸν Ἰνοῦς ἐστιν ἡρῷον, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ θριγκὸς λίθων· πεφύκασι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐλαῖαι. μόνοι δέ εἰσιν Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῖς οἱ λέγοντες τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἰνοῦς ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια σφισιν ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς χώρας, Κλησὼ δὲ καὶ Ταυρόπολιν εὑρεῖν τε καὶ θάψαι —θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι Κλήσωνος τοῦ Λέλεγος—, καὶ Λευκοθέαν τε ὀνομασθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι πρώτοις φασὶν αὐτὴν καὶ θυσίαν ἄγειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

XLIII. Λέγουσι δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἰφιγενείας ἡρῷον· ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ καὶ ταύτην ἐν Μεγάροις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤκουσα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον ἐς Ἰφιγένειαν λόγον ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων λεγόμενον, οἶδα δὲ Ἡσίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμῃ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἑκάτην εἶναι· τούτοις δὲ Ἡρόδοτος ὁμολογοῦντα ἔγραψε Ταύρους τοὺς

ebony. There is also a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophorus (*Lawgiver*). On going down from it you see the tomb of Callipolis, son of Alcathous. Alcathous had also an elder son, Ischepolis, whom his father sent to help Meleager to destroy the wild beast in Aetolia. There he died, and Callipolis was the first to hear of his death. Running up to the citadel, at the moment when his father was preparing a fire to sacrifice to Apollo, he flung the logs from the altar. Alcathous, who had not yet heard of the fate of Ischepolis, judged that Callipolis was guilty of impiety, and forthwith, angry as he was, killed him by striking his head with one of the logs that had been flung from the altar.

On the road to the Town-hall is the shrine of the heroine Ino, about which is a fencing of stones, and beside it grow olives. The Megarians are the only Greeks who say that the corpse of Ino was cast up on their coast, that Cleso and Tauropolis, the daughters of Cleson, son of Lelex, found and buried it, and they say that among them first was she named Leucothea, and that every year they offer her sacrifice.

XLIII. They say that there is also a shrine of the heroine Iphigenia; for she too according to them died in Megara. Now I have heard another account of Iphigenia that is given by Arcadians, and I know that Hesiod, in his poem *A Catalogue of Women*, says that Iphigenia did not die, but by the will of Artemis is Hecate. With this agrees the account of Herodotus, that the Tauri near

πρὸς τῇ Σκυθικῇ θύειν παρθένῳ τοὺς ναυαγούς, φάναι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὴν παρθένον Ἰφιγένειαν εἶναι τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος. ἔχει δὲ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Ἄδραστος τιμάς· φασὶ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν παρὰ σφίσι καὶ τοῦτον, ὅτε ἐλὼν Θήβας ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν, αἴτια δέ οἱ τοῦ θανάτου γῆρας καὶ τὴν Αἰγιαλέως γενέσθαι τελευτήν. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐποίησεν, ἡνίκα ἦλθε Κάλχαντα οἰκοῦντα ἐν Μεγάροις ἐς Ἴλιον ἔπεσθαι
2 πείσων. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρυτανείῳ τεθάφθαι μὲν Εὔιππον Μεγαρέως παῖδα, τεθάφθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀλκάθου λέγουσιν Ἰσχέπολιν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ πρυτανείου πέτρα πλησίον· Ἀνακληθρίδα τὴν πέτραν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς Δημήτηρ, εἰ τῷ πιστά, ὅτε τὴν παῖδα ἐπλανᾶτο ζητοῦσα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν. ἐοικότα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δρῶσιν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι αἱ Μεγαρέων γυναῖκες.

3 Εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει· καὶ τον μὲν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ Λἰσύμνιον καλούμενον μνῆμα ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἡρώων. Ὑπερίονος δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος—οὗτος γὰρ Μεγαρέων ἐβασίλευσεν ὕστατος—τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Σανδίονος διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ὕβριν, βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὑπὸ ἑνὸς ἐδόκει σφίσιν, εἶναι δὲ ἄρχοντας αἱρετοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀκούειν ἀλλήλων. ἐνταῦθα Λἴσυμνος οὐδενὸς τὰ ἐς δόξαν Μεγαρέων δεύτερος παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἠρώτα τρόπον τίνα εὐδαιμονήσουσι· καί οἱ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε καὶ Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν, ἢν μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων βουλεύσωνται. τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐς τοὺς τεθνεῶτας

Scythia sacrifice castaways to a maiden who they say is Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. Adrastus also is honoured among the Megarians, who say that he too died among them when he was leading back his army after taking Thebes, and that his death was caused by old age and the fate of Aegialeus. A sanctuary of Artemis was made by Agamemnon when he came to persuade Calchas, who dwelt in Megara, to accompany him to Troy. In the Town-hall are buried, they say, Euippus the son of Megareus and Ischepolis the son of Alcathous. Near the Town-hall is a rock. They name it Anaclethris (*Recall*), because Demeter (if the story be credible) here too called her daughter back when she was wandering in search of her. Even in our day the Megarian women hold a performance that is a mimic representation of the legend.

In the city are graves of Megarians. They made one for those who died in the Persian invasion, and what is called the Aesymnium (*Shrine of Aesymnus*) was also a tomb of heroes. When Agamemnon's son Hyperion, the last king of Megara, was killed by Sandion for his greed and violence, they resolved no longer to be ruled by one king, but to have elected magistrates and to obey one another in turn. Then Aesymnus, who had a reputation second to none among the Megarians, came to the god in Delphi and asked in what way they could be prosperous. The oracle in its reply said that they would fare well if they took counsel with the majority. This utterance they took

ἔχειν νομίζοντες βουλευτήριον ἐνταῦθα ᾠκοδόμησαν, ἵνα σφίσιν ὁ τάφος τῶν ἡρώων ἐντὸς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου γένηται.

4 Ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς τὸ Ἀλκάθου βαδίζουσιν ἡρῷον, ᾧ Μεγαρεῖς ἐς γραμμάτων φυλακὴν ἐχρῶντο ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, μνῆμα ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν Πυργοῦς εἶναι γυναικὸς Ἀλκάθου πρὶν ἢ τὴν Μεγαρέως αὐτὸν λαβεῖν Εὐαίχμην, τὸ δὲ Ἰφινόης Ἀλκάθου θυγατρός· ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν φασιν ἔτι παρθένον. καθέστηκε δὲ ταῖς κόραις χοὰς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἰφινόης μνῆμα προσφέρειν πρὸ γάμου καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν τριχῶν, καθὰ καὶ τῇ Ἑκαέργῃ καὶ Ὤπιδι αἱ θυγατέρες ποτὲ ἀπεκείροντο αἱ Δηλίων.

5 παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον τὴν ἐς τὸ Διονύσιον τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀστυκρατείας καὶ Μαντοῦς· θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Πολυίδου τοῦ Κοιράνου τοῦ Ἄβαντος τοῦ Μελάμποδος ἐς Μέγαρα ἐλθόντος Ἀλκάθουν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῷ Καλλιπόλιδος καθῆραι τοῦ παιδός. ᾠκοδόμησε δὴ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸ ἱερὸν Πολυίδος καὶ ξόανον ἀνέθηκεν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἐφ' ἡμῶν πλὴν τοῦ προσώπου· τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ φανερόν. Σάτυρος δὲ παρέστηκεν αὐτῷ Πραξιτέλους ἔργον Παρίου λίθου. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ Πατρῷον καλοῦσιν· ἕτερον δὲ Διόνυσον Δασύλλιον ἐπονομάζοντες Εὐχήνορα τὸν Κοιράνου τοῦ

6 Πολυίδου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι λέγουσι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης ναός, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐλέφαντος Ἀφροδίτη πεποιημένον Πρᾶξις ἐπίκλησιν. τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατον ἐν τῷ ναῷ· Πειθὼ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα θεός, ἣν Παρήγορον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἔργα Πραξιτέλους· Σκόπα δὲ Ἔρως καὶ Ἵμερος καὶ Πόθος, εἰ δὴ διάφορά

to refer to the dead, and built a council chamber in this place in order that the grave of their heroes might be within it.

Between this and the hero-shrine of Alcathous, which in my day the Megarians used as a record office, was the tomb, they said, of Pyrgo, the wife of Alcathous before he married Euaechme, the daughter of Megareus, and the tomb of Iphinoë, the daughter of Alcathous; she died, they say, a maid. It is customary for the girls to bring libations to the tomb of Iphinoë and to offer a lock of their hair before their wedding, just as the daughters of the Delians once cut their hair for Hecaërge and Opis. Beside the entrance to the sanctuary of Dionysus is the grave of Astycratea and Manto. They were daughters of Polyidus, son of Coeranus, son of Abas, son of Melampus, who came to Megara to purify Alcathous when he had killed his son Callipolis. Polyidus also built the sanctuary of Dionysus, and dedicated a wooden image that in our day is covered up except the face, which alone is exposed. By the side of it is a Satyr of Parian marble made by Praxiteles. This Dionysus they call Patroüs (*Paternal*); but the image of another, that they surname Dasyllius, they say was dedicated by Euchenor, son of Coeranus, son of Polyidus. After the sanctuary of Dionysus is a temple of Aphrodite, with an ivory image of Aphrodite surnamed Praxis (*Action*). This is the oldest object in the temple. There is also Persuasion and another goddess, whom they name Consoler, works of Praxiteles. By Scopas are Love and Desire and Yearning,

ἐστι κατὰ ταὐτὸ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὰ ἔργα σφίσι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ναοῦ Τύχης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, Πραξιτέλους καὶ αὕτη τέχνη· καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία ἐποίησε Λύσιππος.

7 Ἔστι δὲ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Κοροίβου τάφος· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπη κοινὰ ὅμως ὄντα τοῖς Ἀργείων ἐνταῦθα δηλώσω. ἐπὶ Κροτώπου λέγουσιν ἐν Ἄργει βασιλεύοντος Ψαμάθην τὴν Κροτώπου τεκεῖν παῖδα ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐχομένην δὲ ἰσχυρῶς τοῦ πατρὸς δείματι τὸν παῖδα ἐκθεῖναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν διαφθείρουσιν ἐπιτυχόντες ἐκ τῆς ποίμνης κύνες τῆς Κροτώπου, Ἀπόλλων δὲ Ἀργείοις ἐς τὴν πόλιν πέμπει Ποινήν. ταύτην τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων φασὶν ἁρπάζειν, ἐς ὃ Κόροιβος ἐς χάριν Ἀργείοις φονεύει τὴν Ποινήν. φονεύσας δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει σφᾶς δεύτερα ἐπιπεσοῦσα νόσος λοιμώδης — Κόροιβος ἑκὼν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὑφέξων δίκας τῷ θεῷ τοῦ φόνου τῆς
8 Ποινῆς. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ Ἄργος ἀναστρέφειν οὐκ εἴα Κόροιβον ἡ Πυθία, τρίποδα δὲ ἁρμένον φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἔνθα ἂν ἐκπέσῃ οἱ φέροντι ὁ τρίπους, ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνος οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι. καὶ ὁ τρίπους κατὰ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Γερανίαν ἀπολισθὼν ἔλαθεν αὐτοῦ[1] ἐκπεσών· καὶ Τριποδίσκους κώμην ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι. Κοροίβῳ δέ ἐστι τάφος ἐν τῇ Μεγαλέων ἀγορᾷ· γέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγεῖα τὰ ἐς Ψαμάθην καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα Κόροιβον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπίθημά ἐστι τῷ τάφῳ Κόροιβος φονεύων τὴν Ποινήν. ταῦτα ἀγάλματα παλαιότατα,

[1] αὐτόν?

if indeed their functions are as different as their names. Near the temple of Aphrodite is a sanctuary of Fortune, the image being one of the works of Praxiteles. In the temple hard by are Muses and a bronze Zeus by Lysippus.

The Megarians have also the grave of Coroebus. The poetical story of him, although it equally concerns Argos, I will relate here. They say that in the reign of Crotopus at Argos, Psamathe, the daughter of Crotopus, bore a son to Apollo, and being in dire terror of her father, exposed the child. He was found and destroyed by sheepdogs of Crotopus, and Apollo sent Vengeance to the city to punish the Argives. They say that she used to snatch the children from their mothers, until Coroebus to please the Argives slew Vengeance. Whereat as a second punishment plague fell upon them and stayed not. So Coroebus of his own accord went to Delphi to submit to the punishment of the god for having slain Vengeance. The Pythia would not allow Coroebus to return to Argos, but ordered him to take up a tripod and carry it out of the sanctuary, and where the tripod should fall from his hands, there he was to build a temple of Apollo and to dwell himself. At Mount Gerania the tripod slipped and fell unawares. Here he dwelt in the village called the Little Tripods. The grave of Coroebus is in the market-place of the Megarians. The story of Psamathe and of Coroebus himself is carved on it in elegiac verses, and further, upon the top of the grave is represented Coroebus slaying Vengeance. These are the oldest

ὁπόσα λίθου πεποιημένα ἐστὶν Ἕλλησιν, ἰδὼν οἶδα.

XLIV. Κοροίβου δὲ τέθαπται πλησίον Ὄρσιππος, ὃς περιεζωσμένων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ δὴ παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀθλητῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκα στάδιον δραμὼν γυμνός. φασὶ δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῦντα ὕστερον τὸν Ὄρσιππον ἀποτεμέσθαι χώραν τῶν προσοίκων· δοκῶ δέ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ περίζωμα ἑκόντι περιρρυῆναι, γνόντι ὡς ἀνδρὸς περιεζωσμένου δραμεῖν ῥᾴων ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ
2 γυμνός. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατιοῦσι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Εὐθείας καλουμένης Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Προστατηρίου· τοῦτο ὀλίγον ἐκτραπέντα ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνευρεῖν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται θέας ἄξιος καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Λητὼ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγάλματά ἐστι Πραξιτέλους ποιήσαντος. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν, καὶ Εἰλειθυιῶν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν.

Τοσαῦτά σφισιν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παρείχετο ἡ
3 πόλις· ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον, καλούμενον καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Νίσαιαν, ἐς τοῦτο κατελθοῦσιν ἱερὸν Δήμητρός ἐστι Μαλοφόρου· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους πρόβατα ἐν τῇ γῇ θρέψαντας Δήμητρα ὀνομάσαι Μαλοφόρον, καταρρυῆναι δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν ὄροφον τεκμαίροιτο ἄν τις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. καὶ ἀκρόπολίς ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ὀνομαζομένη καὶ αὐτὴ Νίσαια· καταβᾶσι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως μνῆμά ἐστι πρὸς θαλάσσῃ Λέλεγος, ὃν ἀφικόμενον βασιλεῦσαι

stone images I am aware of having seen among the Greeks.

XLIV. Near Coroebus is buried Orsippus, who 720 B.C.
won the foot-race at Olympia by running naked when all his competitors wore girdles according to ancient custom. They say also that Orsippus when general afterwards annexed some of the neighbouring territory. My own opinion is that at Olympia he intentionally let the girdle slip off him, realizing that a naked man can run more easily than one girt. As you go down from the market-place you see on the right of the street called Straight a sanctuary of Apollo Prostaterius (*Protecting*). You must turn a little aside from the road to discover it. In it is a noteworthy Apollo, Artemis also, and Leto, and other statues, made by Praxiteles. In the old gymnasium near the gate called the Gate of the Nymphs is a stone of the shape of a small pyramid. This they name Apollo Carinus, and here there is a sanctuary of the Eileithyiae.

Such are the sights that the city had to show. When you have gone down to the port, which to the present day is called Nisaea, you see a sanctuary of Demeter Malophorus (*Sheep-bearer* or *Apple-bearer*). One of the accounts given of the surname is that those who first reared sheep in the land named Demeter Malophorus. The roof of the temple one might conclude has fallen in through age. There is a citadel here, which also is called Nisaea. Below the citadel near the sea is the tomb of Lelex, who they say arrived from Egypt and became king, being the son

λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Λιβύης τῆς Ἐπάφου. παρήκει δὲ παρὰ τὴν Νίσαιαν νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη Μινώα· ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Νῖσον παρώρμει τὸ ναυτικὸν τῶν Κρητῶν. ἡ δὲ ὀρεινὴ τῆς Μεγαρίδος τῆς Βοιωτῶν ἐστιν ὅμορος, ἐν ᾗ Μεγαρεῦσι Παγαὶ πόλις, ἑτέρα δὲ Αἰγόσθενα ᾤκισται. ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὰς Παγὰς ἐκτραπομένοις ὀλίγον τῆς λεωφόρου πέτρα δείκνυται διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα ἐμπεπηγότας ὀιστούς, ἐς ἣν οἱ Μῆδοί ποτε ἐτόξευον ἐν τῇ νυκτί. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Παγαῖς θέας ὑπελείπετο ἄξιον Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτείρας ἐπίκλησιν χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα, μεγέθει τῷ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἴσον καὶ σχῆμα οὐδὲν διαφόρως ἔχον. καὶ Αἰγιαλέως ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἡρῷον τοῦ Ἀδράστου· τοῦτον γάρ, ὅτε Ἀργεῖοι τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Θήβας ἐστράτευσαν, ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην μάχην πρὸς Γλισᾶντι ἀποθανόντα οἱ προσήκοντες ἐς Παγὰς τῆς Μεγαρίδος κομίσαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ Αἰγιάλειον ἔτι καλεῖται τὸ ἡρῷον. ἐν Αἰγοσθένοις δὲ Μελάμποδος τοῦ Ἀμυθάονός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνὴρ οὐ μέγας ἐπειργασμένος ἐν στήλῃ· καὶ θύουσι τῷ Μελάμποδι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι. μαντεύεσθαι δὲ οὔτε δι' ὀνειράτων αὐτὸν οὔτε ἄλλως λέγουσι. καὶ τόδε ἄλλο ἤκουσα ἐν Ἐρενείᾳ τῇ Μεγαρέων κώμῃ, Αὐτονόην τὴν Κάδμου τῷ τε Ἀκταίωνος θανάτῳ, συμβάντι ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τῇ πάσῃ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρῴου τύχῃ περισσότερον ἀλγοῦσαν ἐνταῦθα ἐκ Θηβῶν μετοικῆσαι· καὶ Αὐτονόης μνῆμά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ.

Ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων ἐς Κόρινθον ἄλλοι τέ εἰσι τάφοι καὶ αὐλητοῦ Σαμίου Τηλεφάνους·

of Poseidon and of Libya, daughter of Epaphus. Parallel to Nisaea lies the small island of Minoa, where in the war against Nisus anchored the fleet of the Cretans. The hilly part of Megaris borders upon Boeotia, and in it the Megarians have built the city Pagae and another one called Aegosthena. As you go to Pagae, on turning a little aside from the highway, you are shown a rock with arrows stuck all over it, into which the Persians once shot in the night. In Pagae a noteworthy relic is a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Saviour, in size equal to that at Megara and exactly like it in shape. There is also a hero-shrine of Aegialeus, son of Adrastus. When the Argives made their second attack on Thebes he died at Glisas early in the first battle, and his relatives carried him to Pagae in Megaris and buried him, the shrine being still called the Aegialeum. In Aegosthena is a sanctuary of Melampus, son of Amythaon, and a small figure of a man carved upon a slab. To Melampus they sacrifice and hold a festival every year. They say that he divines neither by dreams nor in any other way. Here is something else that I heard in Erenea, a village of the Megarians. Autonoë, daughter of Cadmus, left Thebes to live here owing to her great grief at the death of Actaeon, the manner of which is told in legend, and at the general misfortune of her father's house. The tomb of Autonoë is in this village.

On the road from Megara to Corinth are graves, including that of the Samian flute-player Telephanes,[1]

[1] A contemporary of Demosthenes.

ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν τάφον Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου λέγουσι. καὶ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως μνῆμά ἐστι, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χῶμα γῆς, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος ἐκοσμήθη λίθῳ κογχίτῃ. μόνοις δὲ Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῦσιν ὁ κογχίτης οὗτός ἐστι, καί σφισι καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει πεποίηται πολλὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ἔστι δὲ ἄγαν λευκὸς καὶ ἄλλου λίθου μαλακώτερος· κόγχοι δὲ αἱ θαλάσσιαι διὰ παντὸς ἔνεισίν οἱ. αὐτὸς μὲν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος· τὴν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἀπὸ Σκίρωνος καὶ ἐς τόδε Σκιρωνίδα Σκίρων, ἡνίκα Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐπολεμάρχει, πρῶτος ὡς λέγουσιν ἐποίησεν ἀνδράσιν ὁδεύειν εὐζώνοις· Ἀδριανὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἅρματα ἐναντία ἐλαύνεσθαι κατέστησεν εὐρυχωρῆ τε καὶ ἐπιτηδείαν εἶναι.

7 Λόγοι δέ εἰσιν ἐς τὰς πέτρας, αἳ κατὰ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ μάλιστα ἀνέχουσιν, ἐς μὲν τὴν Μολουρίδα, ὡς ἀπὸ ταύτης αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν Ἰνὼ ῥίψαι Μελικέρτην ἔχουσα τῶν παίδων τὸν νεώτερον· τὸν γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν Λέαρχον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ πατήρ. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ μανέντα δρᾶσαι ταῦτα Ἀθάμαντα, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἰνὼ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας χρήσαιτο ἀκρατεῖ τῷ θυμῷ τὸν συμβάντα Ὀρχομενίοις λιμὸν καὶ τὸν δοκοῦντα Φρίξου θάνατον αἰσθόμενος, οὗ τὸ θεῖον αἴτιον οὐ γενέσθαι, βουλεῦσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν Ἰνὼ μητρυιὰν οὖσαν·

8 τότε δὲ φεύγουσα ἐς θάλασσαν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας τῆς Μολουρίδος ἀφίησιν, ἐξενεχθέντος δὲ ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν ὑπὸ δελφῖνος ὡς λέγεται τοῦ παιδός, τιμαὶ καὶ ἄλλαι τῷ Μελικέρτῃ δίδονται μετονομασθέντι Παλαί-

said to have been made by Cleopatra, daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas. There is also the tomb of Car, son of Phoroneus, which was originally a mound of earth, but afterwards, at the command of the oracle, it was adorned with mussel stone. The Megarians are the only Greeks to possess this stone, and in the city also they have made many things out of it. It is very white, and softer than other stone; in it throughout are sea mussels. Such is the nature of the stone. The road called Scironian to this day and named after Sciron, was made by him when he was war minister of the Megarians, and originally they say was constructed for the use of active men. But the emperor Hadrian broadened it, and made it suitable even for chariots to pass each other in opposite directions.

There are legends about the rocks, which rise especially at the narrow part of the road. As to the Molurian, it is said that from it Ino flung herself into the sea with Melicertes, the younger of her children. Learchus, the elder of them, had been killed by his father. One account is that Athamas did this in a fit of madness; another is that he vented on Ino and her children unbridled rage when he learned that the famine which befell the Orchomenians and the supposed death of Phrixus were not accidents from heaven, but that Ino, the step-mother, had intrigued for all these things. Then it was that she fled to the sea and cast herself and her son from the Molurian Rock. The son, they say, was landed on the Corinthian Isthmus by a dolphin, and honours were offered to Melicertes, then renamed Palaemon, including the

μονι καὶ τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἄγουσι. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μολουρίδα πέτραν Λευκοθέας καὶ Παλαίμονος ἱερὰν ἡγηντο· τὰς δὲ μετὰ ταύτην νομίζουσιν ἐναγεῖς, ὅτι παροικῶν σφισιν ὁ Σκίρων, ὁπόσοις τῶν ξένων ἐπετύγχανεν, ἠφίει σφᾶς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. χελώνη δὲ ὑπενήχετο ταῖς πέτραις τοὺς ἐσβληθέντας ἁρπάζειν· εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ θαλάσσιαι πλὴν μεγέθους καὶ ποδῶν ὅμοιαι ταῖς χερσαίαις, πόδας δὲ ἐοικότας ἔχουσι ταῖς φώκαις. τούτων περιῆλθεν ἡ δίκη Σκίρωνα ἀφεθέντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Θησέως.

9 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ ἄκρᾳ Διός ἐστιν Ἀφεσίου καλουμένου ναός· φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ συμβάντος ποτὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αὐχμοῦ θύσαντος Αἰακοῦ κατά τι δὴ λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὕσαντά τε[1] ἀφεῖναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφέσιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀφροδίτης

10 ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Πανός. προελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω μνῆμά ἐστιν Εὐρυσθέως· φεύγοντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἡρακλείδας μάχην ἐνταῦθα ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἰολάου λέγουσιν. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ καταβᾶσιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστι Λατῴου καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ Μεγαρεῦσιν ὅροι πρὸς τὴν Κορινθίαν, ἔνθα Ὕλλον τὸν Ἡρακλέους μονομαχῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρκάδα Ἔχεμον λέγουσιν.

[1] ὕσαντά τε Facius.

celebration of the Isthmian games. The Molurian Rock they thought sacred to Leucothea and Palaemon; but those after it they consider accursed, in that Sciron, who dwelt by them, used to cast into the sea all the strangers he met. A tortoise used to swim under the rocks to seize those that fell in. Sea tortoises are like land tortoises except in size and for their feet, which are like those of seals. Retribution for these deeds overtook Sciron, for he was cast into the same sea by Theseus. On the top of the mountain is a temple of Zeus surnamed Aphesius (*Releaser*). It is said that on the occasion of the drought that once afflicted the Greeks Aeacus in obedience to an oracular utterance sacrificed in Aegina to Zeus God of all the Greeks, and Zeus rained and ended the drought, gaining thus the name Aphesius. Here there are also images of Aphrodite, Apollo, and Pan. Farther on is the tomb of Eurystheus. The story is that he fled from Attica after the battle with the Heracleidae and was killed here by Iolaus. When you have gone down from this road you see a sanctuary of Apollo Latoüs, after which is the boundary between Megara and Corinth, where legend says that Hyllus, son of Heracles, fought a duel with the Arcadian Echemus.

BOOK II—CORINTH

Β′

ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΑΚΑ

Ι. Ἡ δὲ Κορινθία χώρα μοῖρα οὖσα τῆς Ἀργείας ἀπὸ Κορίνθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε. Διὸς δὲ εἶναι Κόρινθον οὐδένα οἶδα εἰπόντα πω σπουδῇ πλὴν Κορινθίων τῶν πολλῶν· Εὔμηλος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιλύτου τῶν Βακχιδῶν καλουμένων, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφῇ—εἰ δὴ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφή—Ἐφύραν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, Μαραθῶνα δὲ ὕστερον τὸν Ἐπωπέως τοῦ Ἀλωέως τοῦ Ἡλίου φεύγοντα ἀνομίαν καὶ ὕβριν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια μετοικῆσαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἐπωπέως ἀφικόμενον ἐς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διανείμαντα τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὖθις ἀναχωρῆσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σικυῶνος τὴν Ἀσωπίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τὴν Ἐφυραίαν μετονομασθῆναι.

2 Κόρινθον δὲ οἰκοῦσι Κορινθίων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἔποικοι δὲ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. αἴτιον δὲ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν· συντελοῦντες γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι μετέσχον τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὃν Κριτόλαος στρατηγεῖν Ἀχαιῶν ἀποδειχθεὶς παρεσκεύασε

BOOK II

CORINTH

I. The Corinthian land is a portion of the Argive, and is named after Corinthus. That Corinthus was a son of Zeus I have never known anybody say seriously except the majority of the Corinthians. Eumelus, the son of Amphilytus, of the family called Bacchidae, who is said to have composed the epic poem, says in his Corinthian History (if indeed the history be his) that Ephyra, the daughter of Oceanus, dwelt first in this land; that afterwards Marathon, the son of Epopeus, the son of Aloeus, the son of Helius (*Sun*), fleeing from the lawless violence of his father migrated to the sea coast of Attica; that on the death of Epopeus he came to Peloponnesus, divided his kingdom among his sons, and returned to Attica; and that Asopia was renamed after Sicyon, and Ephyraea after Corinthus. 8th cent. B.C.

Corinth is no longer inhabited by any of the old Corinthians, but by colonists sent out by the Romans. This change is due to the Achaean League.[1] The Corinthians, being members of it, joined in the war against the Romans, which Critolaus, when appointed general of the Achaeans, brought about by persuad-

[1] A league of states in the northern Peloponnesus. It was most influential in the second half of the third century B.C. Founded 280 B.C.

γενέσθαι τούς τε Ἀχαιοὺς ἀναπείσας ἀποστῆναι καὶ τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου τοὺς πολλούς. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῷ πολέμῳ, παρείλοντο μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τείχη περιεῖλον ὅσαι τετειχισμέναι πόλεις ἦσαν· Κόρινθον δὲ ἀνάστατον Μομμίου ποιήσαντος τοῦ τότε ἡγουμένου τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Ῥωμαίων, ὕστερον λέγουσιν ἀνοικίσαι Καίσαρα, ὃς πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρῶτος τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατεστήσατο· ἀνοικίσαι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ.

3 Τῆς δὲ Κορινθίας ἐστὶ γῆς καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Κρομυὼν ἀπὸ Κρόμου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. ἐνταῦθα τραφῆναί φασι Φαιάν,[1] καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Θησέως καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν ὗν ταύτην ἐστὶν ἔργον. προϊοῦσι δὲ ἡ πίτυς ἄχρι γε ἐμοῦ πεφύκει παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καὶ Μελικέρτου βωμὸς ἦν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἐκκομισθῆναι τὸν παῖδα ὑπὸ δελφίνος λέγουσι· κειμένῳ δὲ ἐπιτυχόντα Σίσυφον θάψαι τε ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ
4 ποιῆσαι τῶν Ἰσθμίων. ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἔνθα ὁ λῃστὴς Σίνις λαμβανόμενος πιτύων ἦγεν ἐς τὸ κάτω σφᾶς· ὁπόσων δὲ μάχῃ κρατήσειεν, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δήσας ἀφῆκεν ἂν τὰ δένδρα ἄνω φέρεσθαι· ἐνταῦθα ἑκατέρα τῶν πιτύων τὸν δεθέντα ἐφ' αὑτὴν εἵλκε, καὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ μηδετέρωσε εἴκοντος ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπ' ἴσης βιαζομένου διεσπᾶτο ὁ δεδεμένος. τοιούτῳ διεφθάρη τρόπῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Θησέως ὁ Σίνις· ἐκάθηρε γὰρ Θησεὺς τῶν κακούργων τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Τροιζῆνος, οὕς τε πρότερον κατη-

[1] Φαιὰν added by Clavier.

ing to revolt both the Achaeans and the majority of the Greeks outside the Peloponnesus. When the Romans won the war, they carried out a general 146 B.C. disarmament of the Greeks and dismantled the walls of such cities as were fortified. Corinth was laid waste by Mummius, who at that time commanded the Romans in the field, and it is said that it was afterwards refounded by Caesar, who was the author 44 B.C. of the present constitution of Rome. Carthage, too, they say, was refounded in his reign.

In the Corinthian territory is also the place called Cromyon from Cromus the son of Poseidon. Here they say that Phaea was bred; overcoming this sow was one of the traditional achievements of Theseus. Farther on the pine still grew by the shore at the time of my visit, and there was an altar of Melicertes. At this place, they say, the boy was brought ashore by a dolphin; Sisyphus found him lying and gave him burial on the Isthmus, establishing the Isthmian games in his honour. At the beginning of the Isthmus is the place where the brigand Sinis used to take hold of pine trees and draw them down. All those whom he overcame in fight he used to tie to the trees, and then allow them to swing up again. Thereupon each of the pines used to drag to itself the bound man, and as the bond gave way in neither direction but was stretched equally in both, he was torn in two. This was the way in which Sinis himself was slain by Theseus. For Theseus rid of evil-doers the road from Troezen to Athens, killing those

ρίθμησα ἀνελὼν καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τῇ ἱερᾷ Περιφήτην Ἡφαίστου νομιζόμενον, κορύνῃ χαλκῇ
5 χρώμενον ἐς τὰς μάχας. καθήκει δὲ ὁ τῶν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸς τῇ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρέαις, τῇ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίῳ θάλασσαν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤπειρον ποιεῖ τὴν ἐντὸς χώραν. ὃς δὲ ἐπεχείρησε Πελοπόννησον ἐργάσασθαι νῆσον, προαπέλιπε διορύσσων ἰσθμόν· καὶ ὅθεν μὲν διορύσσειν ἤρξαντο δῆλόν ἐστιν, ἐς δὲ τὸ πετρῶδες οὐ προεχώρησαν ἀρχήν· μένει δὲ ὡς πεφύκει καὶ νῦν ἤπειρος ὤν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε τῷ Φιλίππου διασκάψαι Μίμαντα ἐθελήσαντι μόνον τοῦτο οὐ προεχώρησε τὸ ἔργον· Κνιδίους δὲ ἡ Πυθία τὸν ἰσθμὸν ὀρύσσοντας ἔπαυσεν. οὕτω χαλεπὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ θεῖα
6 βιάσασθαι. τὸ δὲ οὐ Κορινθίοις μόνον περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐστὶν εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐσεμνολόγησαν· λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι Ποσειδῶνα ἐλθεῖν Ἡλίῳ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν, Βριάρεων δὲ διαλλακτὴν γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἰσθμὸν μὲν καὶ ὅσα ταύτῃ δικάσαντα εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, τὴν δὲ ἄκραν Ἡλίῳ δόντα τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.

Ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν ἰσθμὸν
7 Ποσειδῶνος· θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια ἔστι μὲν θέατρον, ἔστι δὲ στάδιον λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο μὲν ἀθλητῶν νικησάντων τὰ Ἴσθμια ἑστήκασιν εἰκόνες, τοῦτο δὲ πιτύων δένδρα ἐστὶ πεφυτευμένα ἐπὶ στοίχου, τὰ πολλὰ ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντα. τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ μείζονι ἐφεστήκασι Τρίτωνες χαλκοῖ. καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνάῳ δύο μὲν Ποσειδῶνος, τρίτον δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης, καὶ Θάλασσα καὶ

whom I have enumerated and, in sacred Epidaurus, Periphetes, thought to be the son of Hephaestus, who used to fight with a bronze club. The Corinthian Isthmus stretches on the one hand to the sea at Cenchreae, and on the other to the sea at Lechaeum. For this is what makes the region to the south mainland. He who tried to make the Peloponnesus an island gave up before digging through the Isthmus. Where they began to dig is still to be seen, but into the rock they did not advance at all. So it still is mainland as its nature is to be. Alexander the son of Philip wished to dig through Mimas, and his attempt to do this was his only unsuccessful project. The Cnidians began to dig through their isthmus, but the Pythian priestess stopped them. So difficult it is for man to alter by violence what Heaven has made. A legend of the Corinthians about their land is not peculiar to them, for I believe that the Athenians were the first to relate a similar story to glorify Attica. The Corinthians say that Poseidon had a dispute with Helius (*Sun*) about the land, and that Briareos arbitrated between them, assigning to Poseidon the Isthmus and the parts adjoining, and giving to Helius the height above the city.

Ever since, they say, the Isthmus has belonged to Poseidon. Worth seeing here are a theatre and a white-marble race-course. Within the sanctuary of the god stand on the one side portrait statues of athletes who have won victories at the Isthmian games, on the other side pine trees growing in a row, the greater number of them rising up straight. On the temple, which is not very large, stand bronze Tritons. In the fore-temple are images, two of Poseidon, a third of Amphitrite, and a Sea, which also is of

αὕτη χαλκῆ. τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνέθηκεν Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναῖος, ἵππους τέσσαρας ἐπιχρύσους πλὴν τῶν ὁπλῶν· ὁπλαὶ δέ σφισίν εἰσιν ἐλέφαν-
8 τος. καὶ Τρίτωνες δύο παρὰ τοὺς ἵππους εἰσὶ χρυσοῖ, τὰ μετ' ἰξὺν ἐλέφαντος καὶ οὗτοι· τῷ δὲ ἅρματι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐφεστήκασι, καὶ παῖς ὀρθός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ὁ Παλαίμων· ἐλέφαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ οὗτοι πεποίηνται. τῷ βάθρῳ δὲ ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ἅρμα μέση μὲν ἐπείργασται Θάλασσα ἀνέχουσα Ἀφροδίτην παῖδα, ἑκατέρωθεν δέ εἰσιν αἱ Νηρηίδες καλούμεναι. ταύταις καὶ ἑτέρωθι τῆς Ἑλλάδος βωμοὺς οἶδα ἄντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τεμένη σφίσιν ἀναθέντας πρὸς ἡιόσιν,[1] ἔνθα καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖ τιμαί· Δωτοῦς δὲ ἐν Γαβάλοις ἱερόν ἐστιν ἅγιον, ἔνθα πέπλος ἔτι ἐλείπετο, ὃν Ἕλληνες Ἐριφύλην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ
9 λαβεῖν Ἀλκμαίωνι. τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος δέ εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι τῷ βάθρῳ καὶ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες, ὅτι δὴ σωτῆρες καὶ οὗτοι νεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ ναυτιλλομένων. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀνάκειται Γαλήνης ἄγαλμα καὶ Θαλάσσης καὶ ἵππος εἰκασμένος κήτει τὰ μετὰ τὸ στέρνον, Ἰνώ τε καὶ Βελλεροφόντης καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὁ Πήγασος.

II. Τοῦ περιβόλου δέ ἐστιν ἐντὸς Παλαίμονος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναός, ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Λευκοθέα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παλαίμων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο Ἄδυτον καλούμενον, κάθοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ὑπόγεως, ἔνθα δὴ τὸν Παλαίμονα κεκρύφθαι φασίν· ὃς δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἢ Κορινθίων ἢ ξένος ἐπίορκα ὀμόσῃ, οὐδεμία ἐστὶν οἱ μηχανὴ διαφυ-

[1] πρὸς ἡιόσιν Preller. The reading is very doubtful.

bronze. The offerings inside were dedicated in our time by Herodes the Athenian, four horses, gilded except for the hoofs, which are of ivory, and two gold Tritons beside the horses, with the parts below the waist of ivory. On the car stand Amphitrite and Poseidon, and there is the boy Palaemon upright upon a dolphin. These too are made of ivory and gold. On the middle of the base on which the car is has been wrought a Sea holding up the young Aphrodite, and on either side are the nymphs called Nereids. I know that there are altars to these in other parts of Greece, and that some Greeks have even dedicated to them precincts by shores, where honours are also paid to Achilles. In Gabala is a holy sanctuary of Doto, where there was still remaining the robe by which the Greeks say that Eriphyle was bribed to wrong her son Alcmaeon. Among the reliefs on the base of the statue of Poseidon are the sons of Tyndareus, because these too are saviours of ships and of sea-faring men. The other offerings are images of Calm and of Sea, a horse like a whale from the breast onward, Ino and Bellerophontes, and the horse Pegasus.

II. Within the enclosure is on the left a temple of Palaemon, with images in it of Poseidon, Leucothea and Palaemon himself. There is also what is called his Holy of Holies, and an underground descent to it, where they say that Palaemon is concealed. Whosoever, whether Corinthian or stranger, swears falsely here, can by no means escape from his oath.

γεῖν τοῦ ὅρκου. καὶ δὴ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον Κυκλώπων καλούμενος βωμός, καὶ θύουσιν ἐπ'
2 αὐτῷ Κύκλωψι. τάφους δὲ Σισύφου καὶ Νηλέως—καὶ γὰρ Νηλέα ἀφικόμενον ἐς Κόρινθον νόσῳ τελευτῆσαί φασι καὶ περὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ταφῆναι—οὐκ ἂν οἶδ' εἰ ζητοίη τις ἐπιλεξάμενος τὰ Εὐμήλου· Νηλέως μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ Νέστορι ἐπιδειχθῆναι τὸ μνῆμα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σισύφου φησί, χρῆναι γὰρ ἄγνωστον τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως εἶναι, Σίσυφον δὲ ταφῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, τὸν δέ οἱ τάφον καὶ τῶν ἐφ' αὑτοῦ Κορινθίων ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς εἰδότας. ὁ δὲ Ἰσθμικὸς ἀγὼν οὐδὲ ἀναστάντων ὑπὸ Μομμίου Κορινθίων ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἠρήμωτο ἡ πόλις, Σικυωνίοις ἄγειν ἐπετέτραπτο τὰ Ἴσθμια, οἰκισθείσης δὲ αὖθις ἐς τοὺς νῦν οἰκήτορας περιῆλθεν ἡ τιμή.
3 Κορινθίοις δὲ τοῖς ἐπινείοις τὰ ὀνόματα Λέχης καὶ Κεγχρίας ἔδοσαν, Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι καὶ Πειρήνης τῆς Ἀχελῴου λεγόμενοι· πεποίηται δὲ ἐν Ἠοίαις μεγάλαις Οἰβάλου θυγατέρα εἶναι Πειρήνην. ἔστι δὲ ἐν Λεχαίῳ μὲν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν, τὴν δὲ ἐς Κεγχρέας ἰόντων ἐξ ἰσθμοῦ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανον ἀρχαῖον. ἐν δὲ Κεγχρέαις Ἀφροδίτης τέ ἐστι ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρύματι τῷ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον πέρας τοῦ λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἴσιδος ἱερά. Κεγχρεῶν δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τὸ Ἑλένης ἐστὶ λουτρόν· ὕδωρ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκ πέτρας ῥεῖ πολὺ καὶ ἁλμυρὸν ὕδατι ὅμοιον ἀρχομένῳ θερμαίνεσθαι.
4 Ἀνιοῦσι δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶ κατὰ

There is also an ancient sanctuary called the altar of the Cyclopes, and they sacrifice to the Cyclopes upon it. The graves of Sisyphus and of Neleus—for they say that Neleus came to Corinth, died of disease, and was buried near the Isthmus—I do not think that anyone would look for after reading Eumelus. For he says that not even to Nestor did Sisyphus show the tomb of Neleus, because it must be kept unknown to everybody alike, and that Sisyphus is indeed buried on the Isthmus, but that few Corinthians, even those of his own day, knew where the grave was. The Isthmian games were not interrupted even when Corinth had been laid waste by Mummius, but so long as it lay deserted the celebration of the games was entrusted to the Sicyonians, and when it was rebuilt the honour was restored to the present inhabitants.

The names of the Corinthian harbours were given them by Leches and Cenchrias, said to be the children of Poseidon and Peirene the daughter of Acheloüs, though in the poem called *The Great Eoeae*[1] Peirene is said to be a daughter of Oebalus. In Lechaeum are a sanctuary and a bronze image of Poseidon, and on the road leading from the Isthmus to Cenchreae a temple and ancient wooden image of Artemis. In Cenchreae are a temple and a stone statue of Aphrodite, after it on the mole running into the sea a bronze image of Poseidon, and at the other end of the harbour sanctuaries of Asclepius and of Isis. Right opposite Cenchreae is Helen's Bath. It is a large stream of salt, tepid water, flowing from a rock into the sea.

As one goes up to Corinth are tombs, and by the

[1] Said to be a work of Hesiod.

τὴν ὁδὸν μνήματα καὶ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Διογένης τέθαπται ὁ Σινωπεύς, ὃν κύνα ἐπίκλησιν καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες. πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσων ἐστὶν ἄλσος ὀνομαζόμενον Κράνειον. ἐνταῦθα Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστι τέμενος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς Μελαινίδος καὶ τάφος Λαΐδος, ᾧ δὴ λέαινα ἐπίθημά ἐστι κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις
5 ποσίν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Λαΐδος φάμενον μιῆμα εἶναι· παρεγένετο γὰρ καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐρασθεῖσα Ἱπποστράτου. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐξ Τκάρων αὐτὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ λέγεται παῖδα οὖσαν ὑπὸ Νικίου καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἁλῶναι, πραθεῖσαν δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον ὑπερβαλέσθαι κάλλει τὰς τότε ἑταίρας, θαυμασθῆναί τε οὕτω παρὰ Κορινθίοις ὡς ἀμφισβητεῖν σφᾶς καὶ νῦν ἔτι Λαΐδος.

6 Λόγου δὲ ἄξια ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν λειπόμενα ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐποιήθη τῆς ὕστερον. ἔστιν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς—ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πλεῖστά ἐστι τῶν ἱερῶν—Ἄρτεμίς τε ἐπίκλησιν Ἐφεσία καὶ Διονύσου ξόανα ἐπίχρυσα πλὴν τῶν προσώπων· τὰ δὲ πρόσωπα ἀλοιφῇ σφισιν ἐρυθρᾷ κεκόσμηται·
7 Λύσιον δέ, τὸν δὲ Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσι. τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα ἐς τὰ ξόανα καὶ ἐγὼ γράφω. Πενθέα ὑβρίζοντα ἐς Διόνυσον καὶ ἄλλα τολμᾶν λέγουσι καὶ τέλος ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀναβάντα δὲ ἐς δένδρον θεάσασθαι τὰ ποιούμενα· τὰς δέ, ὡς ἐφώρασαν, καθελκύσαι τε αὐτίκα Πενθέα καὶ ζῶντος ἀποσπᾶν ἄλλο ἄλλην τοῦ σώματος. ὕστερον δέ, ὡς Κορίνθιοι λέγουσιν, ἡ Πυθία χρᾷ σφισιν ἀνευ-

gate is buried Diogenes[1] of Sinope, whom the Greeks surname the Dog. Before the city is a grove of cypresses called Craneum. Here are a precinct of Bellerophontes, a temple of Aphrodite Melaenis and the grave of Lais, upon which is set a lioness holding a ram in her fore-paws. There is in Thessaly another tomb which claims to be that of Lais, for she went to that country also when she fell in love with Hippostratus. The story is that originally she was of Hycara in Sicily. Taken captive while yet a girl by Nicias and the Athenians, she was sold and brought to Corinth, where she surpassed in beauty the courtezans of her time, and so won the admiration of the Corinthians that even now they claim Lais as their own.

The things worthy of mention in the city include the extant remains of antiquity, but the greater number of them belong to the period of its second ascendancy. On the market-place, where most of the sanctuaries are, stand Artemis surnamed Ephesian and wooden images of Dionysus, which are covered with gold with the exception of their faces; these are ornamented with red paint. They are called Lysius and Baccheüs, and I too give the story told about them. They say that Pentheus treated Dionysus despitefully, his crowning outrage being that he went to Cithaeron, to spy upon the women, and climbing up a tree beheld what was done. When the women detected Pentheus, they immediately dragged him down, and joined in tearing him, living as he was, limb from limb. Afterwards, as the Corinthians say, the Pythian priestess commanded them by an

[1] The "Cynic" philosopher.

ρόντας τὸ δένδρον ἐκεῖνο ἴσα τῷ θεῷ σέβειν· καὶ
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τόδε τὰς εἰκόνας πεποίηνται
8 ταύτας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναός· ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν
Παρίου λίθου· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν θεοῖς πᾶσίν ἐστιν
ἱερόν. πλησίον δὲ ᾠκοδόμηται κρήνη, καὶ Πο-
σειδῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς καὶ δελφὶς ὑπὸ τοῖς
ποσὶν ἐστι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφιεὶς ὕδωρ. καὶ
Ἀπόλλων ἐπίκλησιν Κλάριος χαλκοῦς ἐστι καὶ
ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης Ἑρμογένους Κυθηρίου ποιή-
σαντος. Ἑρμοῦ τέ ἐστιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ μὲν
καὶ ὀρθὰ ἀμφότερα, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ καὶ ναὸς πε-
ποίηται. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Διός, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν
ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπίκλησιν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν
Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ὕψιστον.

III. Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶ
χαλκῆ· τῷ βάθρῳ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστι Μουσῶν ἀγάλ-
ματα ἐπειργασμένα. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐστιν Ὀκ-
ταβίας ναὸς ἀδελφῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλεύσαντος
Ῥωμαίων μετὰ Καίσαρα τὸν οἰκιστὴν Κορίνθου
τῆς νῦν.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξιόντων τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου
προπύλαιά ἐστι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἅρματα ἐπίχρυσα,
τὸ μὲν Φαέθοντα Ἡλίου παῖδα, τὸ δὲ Ἥλιον
αὐτὸν φέρον. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω τῶν προπυ-
λαίων ἐσιοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστιν Ἡρακλῆς χαλκοῦς.
μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔσοδός ἐστι τῆς Πειρήνης ἐς τὸ
ὕδωρ. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ λέγουσιν ὡς ἡ Πειρήνη γέ-
νοιτο ὑπὸ δακρύων ἐξ ἀνθρώπου πηγή, τὸν παῖδα
ὀδυρομένη Κεγχρίαν ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀκούσης
3 ἀποθανόντα. κεκόσμηται δὲ ἡ πηγὴ λίθῳ λευκῷ,
καὶ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν οἰκήματα σπηλαίοις κατὰ
ταὐτά, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς κρήνην ὕπαιθρον ῥεῖ

oracle to discover that tree and to worship it equally with the god. For this reason they have made these images from the tree. There is also a temple of Fortune, with a standing image of Parian marble. Beside it is a sanctuary for all the gods. Hard by is built a fountain, on which is a bronze Poseidon; under the feet of Poseidon is a dolphin spouting water. There is also a bronze Apollo surnamed Clarius and a statue of Aphrodite made by Hermogenes of Cythera. There are two bronze, standing images of Hermes, for one of which a temple has been made. The images of Zeus also are in the open; one had not a surname, another they call Chthonius (*of the Lower World*) and the third Most High.

III. In the middle of the market-place is a bronze Athena, on the pedestal of which are wrought in relief figures of the Muses. Above the market-place is a temple of Octavia the sister of Augustus, who was emperor of the Romans after Caesar, the founder of the modern Corinth.

On leaving the market-place along the road to Lechaeum you come to a gateway, on which are two gilded chariots, one carrying Phaëthon the son of Helius (*Sun*), the other Helius himself. A little farther away from the gateway, on the right as you go in, is a bronze Heracles. After this is the entrance to the water of Peirene. The legend about Peirene is that she was a woman who became a spring because of her tears shed in lamentation for her son Cenchrias, who was unintentionally killed by Artemis. The spring is ornamented with white marble, and there have been made chambers like caves, out of which the

πιεῖν τε ἡδὺ καὶ τὸν Κορίνθιον χαλκὸν διάπυρον καὶ θερμὸν ὄντα ὑπὸ ὕδατος τούτου βάπτεσθαι λέγουσιν, ἐπεὶ χαλκός . . .[1] γε οὐκ ἔστι Κορινθίοις. ἔτι γε δὴ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγαλμα πρὸς τῇ Πειρήνῃ καὶ περίβολός ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ γραφὴ τὸ Ὀδυσσέως ἐς τοὺς μνηστῆρας ἔχουσα τόλμημα.

4 Λύθις δ' ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου τὴν εὐθεῖαν χαλκοῦς καθήμενός ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς. παρέστηκε δέ οἱ κριός, ὅτι Ἑρμῆς μάλιστα δοκεῖ θεῶν ἐφορᾶν καὶ αὔξειν ποίμνας, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησεν

Τίὸν Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου, τόν ῥα μάλιστα
Ἑρμείας Τρώων ἐφίλει καὶ κτῆσιν ὄπασσε·

τὸν δὲ ἐν τελετῇ Μητρὸς ἐπὶ Ἑρμῇ λεγόμενον καὶ τῷ κριῷ λόγον ἐπιστάμενος οὐ λέγω. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Λευκοθέα
5 καὶ ἐπὶ δελφῖνός ἐστιν ὁ Παλαίμων. λουτρὰ δὲ ἔστι μὲν πολλαχοῦ Κορινθίοις καὶ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὸ δὲ βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ κατασκευάσαντος· τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον αὐτῶν πλησίον τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. τοῦτο δὲ Εὐρυκλῆς ἐποίησεν ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης λίθοις κοσμήσας καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ ὧν ἐν Κροκεαῖς χώρας τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὀρύσσουσιν. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου Ποσειδῶν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἄρτεμις θηρεύουσα ἕστηκε. κρῆναι δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πεποίηνται πᾶσαν ἅτε ἀφθόνου ῥέοντός σφισιν ὕδατος καὶ ὁ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐσήγαγεν ἐκ Στυμφήλου, θέας δὲ μάλιστα ἀξία ἡ παρὰ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς

[1] Here there is a gap in the text.

water flows into an open-air well. It is pleasant to drink, and they say that the Corinthian bronze, when red-hot, is tempered by this water, since bronze . . . the Corinthians have not. Moreover near Peirene are an image and a sacred enclosure of Apollo; in the latter is a painting of the exploit of Odysseus against the suitors.

Proceeding on the direct road to Lechaeum we see a bronze image of a seated Hermes. By him stands a ram, for Hermes is the god who is thought most to care for and to increase flocks, as Homer puts it in the *Iliad* [1]:—

> "Son was he of Phorbas, the dearest of Trojans to Hermes,
> Rich in flocks, for the god vouchsafed him wealth in abundance."

The story told at the mysteries of the Mother about Hermes and the ram I know but do not relate. After the image of Hermes come Poseidon, Leucothea, and Palaemon on a dolphin. The Corinthians have baths in many parts of the city, some put up at the public charge and one by the emperor Hadrian. The most famous of them is near the Poseidon. It was made by the Spartan Eurycles,[2] who beautified it with various kinds of stone, especially the one quarried at Croceae in Laconia. On the left of the entrance stands a Poseidon, and after him Artemis hunting. Throughout the city are many wells, for the Corinthians have a copious supply of flowing water, besides the water which the emperor Hadrian brought from Lake Stymphalus, but the most noteworthy is the one by the side of the image

[1] xiv. 490. [2] Probably a contemporary of Augustus.

Ἀρτέμιδος· καί οἱ Βελλεροφόντης ἔπεστι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ δι' ὁπλῆς ἵππου ῥεῖ τοῦ Πηγάσου.

6 Ἑτέραν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα ἐρχομένοις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω κρήνη καλουμένη Γλαύκης· ἐς γὰρ ταύτην ἔρριψεν αὐτήν, ὡς λέγουσι, τῶν Μηδείας ἔσεσθαι φαρμάκων τὸ ὕδωρ νομίζουσα ἴαμα. ὑπὲρ ταύτην πεποίηται τὴν κρήνην καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ὠιδεῖον, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸ μνῆμά ἐστι τοῖς Μηδείας παισίν· ὀνόματα μέν σφισι Μέρμερος καὶ Φέρης, καταλιθωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Κορινθίων λέγονται τῶν δώρων ἕνεκα ὧν τῇ Γλαύκῃ κομίσαι
7 φασὶν αὐτούς· ἅτε δὲ τοῦ θανάτου βιαίου καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ γενομένου, τὰ τέκνα Κορινθίων τὰ νήπια ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐφθείρετο, πρὶν ἢ χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ θυσίαι τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέτειοι κατέστησαν καὶ Δεῖμα ἐπεστάθη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι λείπεται, γυναικὸς ἐς τὸ φοβερώτερον εἰκὼν πεποιημένη· Κορίνθου δὲ ἀναστάτου γενομένης ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Κορινθίων τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπολομένων, οὐκέτι ἐκεῖναι καθεστήκασιν αὐτοῖς αἱ θυσίαι παρὰ τῶν ἐποίκων οὐδὲ ἀποκείρονται σφισιν οἱ παῖδες οὐδὲ μέλαιναν φοροῦσιν ἐσθῆτα.
8 Μήδεια δὲ τότε μὲν ἐλθοῦσα ἐς Ἀθήνας συνῴκησεν Αἰγεῖ, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον φωραθεῖσα ἐπιβουλεύειν Θησεῖ καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἔφυγε, παραγενομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν λεγομένην τότε Ἀρίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκε τὸ ὄνομα καλεῖσθαι Μήδους ἀπ' αὐτῆς. τὸν δὲ παῖδα, ὃν ἐπήγετο φεύγουσα ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους, γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰγέως, ὄνομα δέ οἱ Μῆδον εἶναι· Ἑλλάνικος δὲ αὐτὸν

of Artemis. Over it is a Bellerophontes, and the water flows through the hoof of the horse Pegasus.

As you go along another road from the market-place, which leads to Sicyon, you can see on the right of the road a temple and bronze image of Apollo, and a little farther on a well called the Well of Glauce. Into this they say she threw herself in the belief that the water would be a cure for the drugs of Medea. Above this well has been built what is called the Odeum (*Music Hall*), beside which is the tomb of Medea's children. Their names were Mermerus and Pheres, and they are said to have been stoned to death by the Corinthians owing to the gifts which legend says they brought to Glauce. But as their death was violent and illegal, the young babies of the Corinthians were destroyed by them until, at the command of the oracle, yearly sacrifices were established in their honour and a figure of Terror was set up. This figure still exists, being the likeness of a woman frightful to look upon; but after Corinth was laid waste by the Romans and the old Corinthians were wiped out, the new settlers broke the custom of offering those sacrifices to the sons of Medea, nor do their children cut their hair for them or wear black clothes. On the occasion referred to Medea went to Athens and married Aegeus, but subsequently she was detected plotting against Theseus and fled from Athens also; coming to the land then called Aria she caused its inhabitants to be named after her Medes. The son, whom she brought with her in her flight to the Arii, they say she had by Aegeus, and that his name was Medus. Hellanicus,[1] however, calls him Polyxenus

[1] A writer of the fifth century B.C.

Πολύξενον καλεῖ καὶ πατρὸς Ἰάσονός φησιν
9 εἶναι. ἔπη δὲ ἔστιν ἐν Ἕλλησι Ναυπάκτια
ὀνομαζόμενα· πεποίηται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰάσονα ἐξ
Ἰωλκοῦ μετὰ τὸν Πελίου θάνατον ἐς Κόρκυραν
μετοικῆσαι καὶ οἱ Μέρμερον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύ-
τερον τῶν παίδων ὑπὸ λεαίνης διαφθαρῆναι
θηρεύοντα ἐν τῇ πέραν ἠπείρῳ· Φέρητι δὲ οὐδέν
ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην προσκείμενον. Κιναίθων δὲ ὁ
Λακεδαιμόνιος — ἐγενεαλόγησε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος
ἔπεσι — Μήδειον καὶ θυγατέρα Ἐριῶπιν Ἰάσονι
εἶπεν ἐκ Μηδείας γενέσθαι· πέρα δὲ ἐς τοὺς
10 παῖδας οὐδὲ τούτῳ πεποιημένα ἐστίν. Εὔμηλος
δὲ Ἴλιον ἔφη δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἀλωεῖ μὲν τὴν
Ἀσωπίαν, Λιήτῃ δὲ τὴν Ἐφυραίαν· καὶ Αἰήτην
ἀπιόντα ἐς Κόλχους παρακαταθέσθαι Βούνῳ τὴν
γῆν, Βοῦνον δὲ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀλκιδαμείας εἶναι,
καὶ ἐπεὶ Βοῦνος ἐτελεύτησεν, οὕτως Ἐπωπέα
τὸν Ἀλωέως καὶ τὴν Ἐφυραίων σχεῖν ἀρχήν·
Κορίνθου δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ Μαραθῶνος οὐδένα
ὑπολιπομένου παῖδα, τοὺς Κορινθίους Μήδειαν
μεταπεμψαμένους ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ παραδοῦναί οἱ τὴν
11 ἀρχήν. βασιλεύειν μὲν δὴ δι' αὐτὴν Ἰάσονα ἐν
Κορίνθῳ, Μηδείᾳ δὲ παῖδας μὲν γίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ
ἀεὶ τικτόμενον κατακρύπτειν αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν
φέρουσαν τῆς Ἥρας, κατακρύπτειν δὲ ἀθανάτους
ἔσεσθαι νομίζουσαν· τέλος δὲ αὐτήν τε μαθεῖν
ὡς ἡμαρτήκοι τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ τοῦ
Ἰάσονος φωραθεῖσαν — οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχειν δεο-
μένῃ συγγιγώμην, ἀποπλέοντα δὲ ἐς Ἰωλκὸν
οἴχεσθαι —, τούτων δὲ ἕνεκα ἀπελθεῖν καὶ Μή-
δειαν παραδοῦσαν Σισύφῳ τὴν ἀρχήν.

IV. Τάδε μὲν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἐπελεξάμην, τοῦ

and says that his father was Jason. The Greeks have an epic poem called *Naupactia*. In this Jason is represented as having removed his home after the death of Pelias from Iolcus to Coreyra, and Mermerus, the elder of his children, to have been killed by a lioness while hunting on the mainland opposite. Of Pheres is recorded nothing. But Cinaethon[1] of Lacedaemon, another writer of pedigrees in verse, said that Jason's children by Medea were a son Medeüs and a daughter Eriopis; he too, however, gives no further information about these children. Eumelus said that Helius (*Sun*) gave the Asopian land to Aloeus and Ephyraea to Aeetes. When Aeetes was departing for Colchis he entrusted his land to Bunus, the son of Hermes and Alcidamea, and when Bunus died Epopeus the son of Aloeus extended his kingdom to include the Ephyraeans. Afterwards, when Corinthus, the son of Marathon, died childless, the Corinthians sent for Medea from Iolcus and bestowed upon her the kingdom. Through her Jason was king in Corinth, and Medea, as her children were born, carried each to the sanctuary of Hera and concealed them, doing so in the belief that so they would be immortal. At last she learned that her hopes were vain, and at the same time she was detected by Jason. When she begged for pardon he refused it, and sailed away to Iolchus. For these reasons Medea too departed, and handed over the kingdom to Sisyphus.

IV. This is the account that I read, and not far from

[1] An early epic writer.

μνήματος δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω Χαλινίτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν· Ἀθηνᾶν γὰρ θεῶν μάλιστα συγκατεργάσασθαι τά τε ἄλλα Βελλεροφόντῃ φασὶ καὶ ὡς τὸν Πήγασόν οἱ παραδοίη χειρωσαμένῃ τε καὶ ἐνθεῖσα αὐτῇ τῷ ἵππῳ χαλινόν. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο ξόανόν ἐστι, πρόσωπον δὲ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ
2 ἀκρόποδες εἰσὶ λευκοῦ λίθου. Βελλεροφόντην δὲ οὐκ αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα βασιλεύειν, εἶναι δὲ ἐπὶ Προίτῳ καὶ Ἀργείοις ἐγώ τε πείθομαι καὶ ὅστις τὰ Ὁμήρου μὴ πάρεργον ἐπελέξατο. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ Βελλεροφόντου μετοικήσαντος ἐς Λυκίαν οὐδὲν ἧσσον οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν ἐν Ἄργει δυναστῶν ἢ Μυκήναις ὑπακούοντες· ἰδίᾳ τε οὐδένα παρέσχοντο ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατιᾶς, συντεταγμένοι δὲ Μυκηναίοις καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων Ἀγα-
3 μέμνων ἡγεῖτο μετέσχον τοῦ στόλου. Σισύφῳ δὲ οὔτι Γλαῦκος μόνον ὁ Βελλεροφόντου πατὴρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερος υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ὀρνυτίων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Θέρσανδρός τε καὶ Ἅλμος. Ὀρνυτίωνος δὲ ἦν Φῶκος, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπίκλησιν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπῴκησεν ἐς Τιθορέαν τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Φωκίδος, Θόας δὲ Ὀρνυτίωνος υἱὸς νεώτερος κατέμεινεν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ. Θόαντος δὲ Δαμοφῶν, Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἦν Προπόδας, Προπόδα δὲ Δωρίδας καὶ Ταυθίδας. τούτων βασιλευόντων Δωριεῖς στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀλήτης Ἱππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Δωρίδας μὲν οὖν καὶ Ταυθίδας παραδόντες τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλήτῃ καταμένουσιν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ὁ δῆμος ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ
4 Δωριέων κρατηθείς μάχῃ. Ἀλήτης δὲ αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι βασιλεύουσιν ἐς μὲν Βάκχιν τὸν

the tomb is the temple of Athena Chalinitis (*Bridler*). For Athena, they say, was the divinity who gave most help to Bellerophontes, and she delivered to him Pegasus, having herself broken in and bridled him. The image of her is of wood, but face, hands and feet are of white marble. That Bellerophontes was not an absolute king, but was subject to Proetus and the Argives is the belief of myself and of all who have read carefully the Homeric poems.[1] When Bellerophontes migrated to Lycia it is clear that the Corinthians none the less were subject to the despots at Argos or Mycenae. By themselves they provided no leader for the campaign against Troy, but shared in the expedition as part of the forces, Mycenaean and other, led by Agamemnon. Sisyphus had other sons besides Glaucus, the father of Bellerophontes; a second was Ornytion, and besides him there were Thersander and Almus. Ornytion had a son Phocus, reputed to have been begotten by Poseidon. He migrated to Tithorea in what is now called Phocis, but Thoas, the younger son of Ornytion, remained behind at Corinth. Thoas begat Damophon, Damophon begat Propodas, and Propodas begat Doridas and Hyanthidas. While these were kings the Dorians took the field against Corinth, their leader being Aletes, the son of Hippotas, the son of Phylas, the son of Antiochus, the son of Heracles. So Doridas and Hyanthidas gave up the kingship to Aletes and remained at Corinth, but the Corinthian people were conquered in battle and expelled by the Dorians. Aletes himself and his descendants reigned for five generations to Bacchis,

[1] *Iliad*, vi. 159.

Προύμνιδος ἐπὶ γενεὰς πέντε, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ οἱ Βακχίδαι καλούμενοι πέντε ἄλλας γενεὰς ἐς Τελέστην τὸν Ἀριστοδήμου. καὶ Τελέστην μὲν κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀριεὺς καὶ Περάντας κτείνουσι, βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐγένετο, πρυτάνεις δὲ ἐκ Βακχιδῶν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντες, ἐς ὃ Κύψελος τυραννήσας ὁ Ἠετίωνος ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Βακχίδας· ἀπόγονος δὲ ἦν ὁ Κύψελος Μελανος τοῦ Ἀντάσου. Μέλανα δὲ ἐκ Γονούσσης τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικυῶνος στρατεύοντα σὺν Δωριεῦσιν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον Ἀλήτης τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα ἀπειπόντος τοῦ θεοῦ παρ' ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσεν ἀποχωρεῖν, ὕστερον δὲ ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ δέχεται σύνοικον.

Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς Κορινθίων βασιλέας συμ-
5 βάντα εὕρισκον· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Χαλινίτιδος πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ σφίσιν ἐστὶν καὶ πλησίον ξόανον γυμνὸν Ἡρακλέους, Δαιδάλου δὲ αὐτό φασιν εἶναι τέχνην. Δαίδαλος δὲ ὁπόσα εἰργάσατο, ἀτοπώτερα μέν ἐστιν ἐς τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπιπρέπει δὲ ὅμως τι καὶ ἔνθεον τούτοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρόν ἐστιν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου φωνῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων· κατὰ Ἑλλάδα δὲ γλῶσσαν Κορυφαῖος ὀνομάζοιτο ἄν. τοῦ θεάτρου δέ ἐστι τοῦδε οὐ πόρρω γυμνάσιον τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ πηγὴ καλουμένη Λέρνα· κίονες δὲ ἑστήκασι περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ καθέδραι πεποίηνται τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἀναψύχειν ὥρᾳ θέρους. πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ γυμνασίῳ ναοὶ θεῶν εἰσιν ὁ μὲν Διός, ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀσκληπιὸς μὲν καὶ Ὑγεία λευκοῦ λίθου, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς χαλκοῦν ἐστιν.

6 Ἀνιοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον—ἡ δέ ἐστιν

the son of Prumnis, and, named after him, the Bacchidae reigned for five more generations to Telestes, the son of Aristodemus. Telestes was killed in hate by Arieus and Perantas, and there were no more kings, but *Prytanes* (*Presidents*) taken from the Bacchidae and ruling for one year, until Cypselus, 655 B.C. the son of Eetion, became tyrant and expelled the Bacchidae. Cypselus was a descendant of Melas, the son of Antasus. Melas from Gonussa above Sicyon joined the Dorians in the expedition against Corinth. When the god expressed disapproval Aletes at first ordered Melas to withdraw to other Greeks, but afterwards, mistaking the oracle, he received him as a settler.

Such I found to be the history of the Corinthian kings. Now the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis is by their theatre, and near is a naked wooden image of Heracles, said to be a work of Daedalus. All the works of this artist, although rather uncouth to look at, are nevertheless distinguished by a kind of inspiration. Above the theatre is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed in the Latin tongue Capitolinus, which might be rendered into Greek *Coryphaeos*. Not far from this theatre is the ancient gymnasium, and a spring called Lerna. Pillars stand around it, and seats have been made to refresh in summer time those who have entered it. By this gymnasium are temples of Zeus and Asclepius. The images of Asclepius and of Health are of white marble, that of Zeus is of bronze.

The Acrocorinthus is a mountain peak above the

ὄρους ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κορυφή, Βριάρεω μὲν Ἡλίῳ δόντος αὐτὴν ὅτε ἐδίκαζεν, Ἡλίου δὲ ὡς οἱ Κορίνθιοί φασιν Ἀφροδίτῃ παρέντος—ἐς δὴ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον τοῦτον ἀνιοῦσίν ἐστιν Ἴσιδος τεμένη, ὧν τὴν μὲν Πελαγιαν, τὴν δὲ Αἰγυπτίαν αὐτῶν ἐπονομάζουσιν, καὶ δύο Σαράπιδος, ἐν Κανώβῳ καλουμένου τὸ ἕτερον. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὰ Ἡλίῳ πεποίηνται βωμοί, καὶ Ἀνάγκης καὶ Βίας ἐστὶν
7 ἱερόν· ἐσιέναι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐ νομίζουσιν. ὑπὲρ τοῦτο Μητρὸς θεῶν ναός ἐστι καὶ θρόνος· λίθων καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ θρόνος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ ὁ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης οὐ φανερὰ ἔχουσι τὰ ἀγάλματα. ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τῆς Βουναίας ἐστὶν Ἥρας ἱερὸν ἱδρυσαμένου Βούνου τοῦ Ἕρμοῦ· καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἡ θεὸς καλεῖται Βουναία.

V. Ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ναός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης· ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτή τε ὡπλισμένη καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἔρως ἔχων τόξον. τὴν δὲ πηγήν, ἥ ἐστιν ὄπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ, δῶρον μὲν Ἀσωποῦ λέγουσιν εἶναι, δοθῆναι δὲ Σισύφῳ· τοῦτον γὰρ εἰδότα, ὡς εἴη Ζεὺς ἡρπακὼς Αἴγιναν θυγατέρα Ἀσωποῦ, μὴ πρότερον φάναι ζητοῦντι μηνύσειν πρὶν ἢ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ἀκροκορίνθῳ γένοιτο ὕδωρ· δόντος δὲ Ἀσωποῦ μηνύει τε οὕτως καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ μηνύματος δίκην—ὅτῳ πιστὰ—ἐν Ἅιδου δίδωσιν. ἥκουσα δὲ ἤδη τὴν Πειρήνην φαμένων εἶναι ταύτην καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ὑπορρεῖν τὸ ἐν
2 τῇ πόλει. ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς οὗτος ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Φλιασίας, ῥεῖ δὲ διὰ τῆς Σικυωνίας καὶ ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὴν ταύτῃ θάλασσαν. θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι Φλιάσιοί φασι Κόρκυραν καὶ Αἴγιναν καὶ Θήβην· ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Κορκύρας καὶ

city, assigned to Helius by Briareos when he acted as adjudicator, and handed over, the Corinthians say, by Helius to Aphrodite. As you go up this Acrocorinthus you see two precincts of Isis, one of Isis surnamed Pelagian (*Marine*) and the other of Egyptian Isis, and two of Serapis, one of them being of Serapis called "in Canopus." After these are altars to Helius, and a sanctuary of Necessity and Force, into which it is not customary to enter. Above it are a temple of the Mother of the gods and a throne; the image and the throne are made of stone. The temple of the Fates and that of Demeter and the Maid have images that are not exposed to view. Here, too, is the temple of Hera Bunaea set up by Bunus the son of Hermes. It is for this reason that the goddess is called Bunaea.

V. On the summit of the Acrocorinthus is a temple of Aphrodite. The images are Aphrodite armed, Helius, and Eros with a bow. The spring, which is behind the temple, they say was the gift of Asopus to Sisyphus. The latter knew, so runs the legend, that Zeus had ravished Aegina, the daughter of Asopus, but refused to give information to the seeker before he had a spring given him on the Acrocorinthus. When Asopus granted this request Sisyphus turned informer, and on this account he receives—if anyone believes the story—punishment in Hades. I have heard people say that this spring and Peirene are the same, the water in the city flowing hence underground. This Asopus rises in the Phliasian territory, flows through the Sicyonian, and empties itself into the sea here. His daughters, say the Phliasians, were Corcyra, Aegina, and Thebe. Corcyra and

Αἰγίνης τὰς νήσους Σχερίαν καὶ Οἰνώνην καλουμένας μετονομασθῆναι, ἀπὸ δὲ Θήβης τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ κληθῆναι. Θηβαῖοι δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι, φάμενοι τοῦ Βοιωτίου τὴν Θήβην Ἀσωποῦ καὶ
3 οὐ τοῦ Φλιασίου εἶναι. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν Φλιάσιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι λέγουσι, τὸ ὕδωρ ἔπηλυ καὶ οὐκ ἐγχώριον εἶναί οἱ· Μαίανδρον γὰρ κατιόντα ἐκ Κελαινῶν διὰ Φρυγίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὴν πρὸς Μιλήτῳ θάλασσαν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔρχεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν Ἀσωπόν. οἶδα δὲ καὶ Δηλίων τοιοῦτο ἀκούσας ἕτερον, ὕδωρ ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἰνωπὸν εἶναί σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου· καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει τὸν Νεῖλον λόγος Εὐφράτην ὄντα ἐς ἕλος ἀφανίζεσθαι καὶ αὖθις ἀνιόντα ὑπὲρ Αἰθιοπίας Νεῖλον γίνεσθαι.
4 Ἀσωποῦ μὲν πέρι τοιαῦτα ἤκουσα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου τραπεῖσι τὴν ὀρεινὴν πύλη τέ ἐστιν ἡ Τενεατικὴ καὶ Ἐληθυίας ἱερόν· ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἀπέχει μάλιστα στάδια ἡ καλουμένη Τενέα. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποί φασιν οἱ ταύτῃ Τρῶες εἶναι, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐκ Τενέδου γενόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ἀγαμέμνονος δόντος οἰκῆσαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεῶν μάλιστα Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν.
5 Ἐκ Κορίνθου δὲ οὐκ ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα ἰοῦσι ναὸς ἐμπεπρησμένος ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ. γεγόνασι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πόλεμοι περὶ τὴν Κορινθίαν καὶ πῦρ ἐπέλαβεν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ ἔξω τείχους· ἀλλὰ τοῦτόν γε τὸν ναὸν Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ὅτι Πύρρος κατακαύσειεν ὁ Ἀχιλλέως αὐτόν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον

Aegina gave new names to the islands called Scheria and Oenone, while from Thebe is named the city below the Cadmea. The Thebans do not agree, but say that Thebe was the daughter of the Boeotian, and not of the Phliasian, Asopus. The other stories about the river are current among both the Phliasians and the Sicyonians, for instance that its water is foreign and not native, in that the Maeander, descending from Celaenae through Phrygia and Caria, and emptying itself into the sea at Miletus, goes to the Peloponnesus and forms the Asopus. I remember hearing a similar story from the Delians, that the stream which they call Inopus comes to them from the Nile. Further, there is a story that the Nile itself is the Euphrates, which disappears into a marsh, rises again beyond Aethiopia and becomes the Nile. Such is the account I heard of the Asopus. When you have turned from the Acrocorinthus into the mountain road you see the Teneatic gate and a sanctuary of Eilethyia. The town called Tenea is just about sixty stades distant. The inhabitants say that they are Trojans who were taken prisoners in Tenedos by the Greeks, and were permitted by Agamemnon to dwell in their present home. For this reason they honour Apollo more than any other god.

As you go from Corinth, not into the interior but along the road to Sicyon, there is on the left not far from the city a burnt temple. There have, of course, been many wars carried on in Corinthian territory, and naturally houses and sanctuaries outside the wall have been fired. But this temple, they say, was Apollo's, and Pyrrhus the son of Achilles burned it down. Subsequently I heard another account, that

ἥκουσα καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε, ὡς οἱ Κορίνθιοι Διὶ ποιήσαιντο Ὀλυμπίῳ τὸν ναὸν καὶ ὡς ἐξαίφνης πῦρ ποθὲν ἐμπεσὸν διαφθείρειεν αὐτόν.

6 Σικυώνιοι δὲ—οὗτοι γὰρ ταύτῃ Κορινθίοις εἰσὶν ὅμοροι—περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρας λέγουσιν ὡς Αἰγιαλεὺς αὐτόχθων πρῶτος ἐν αὐτῇ γένοιτο, καὶ Πελοποννήσου δὲ ὅσον ἔτι καλεῖται καὶ νῦν Αἰγιαλὸς ἀπ' ἐκείνου βασιλεύοντος ὀνομασθῆναι, καὶ Αἰγιάλειαν αὐτὸν οἰκίσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν· οὗ δέ ἐστι νῦν σφίσι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἀκρόπολιν τοῦτο εἶναι. Αἰγιαλέως δὲ Εὔρωπα γενέσθαι φασίν, Εὔρωπος δὲ Τελχῖνα, Τελχῖνος
7 δὲ Ἄπιν. οὗτος ὁ Ἄπις ἐς τοσόνδε ηὐξήθη δυνάμεως, πρὶν ἢ Πέλοπα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικέσθαι, ὡς τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ χώραν Ἀπίαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι. Ἄπιδος δὲ ἦν Θελξίων, Θελξίονος δὲ Λῖγυρος, τοῦ δὲ Θουρίμαχος, Θουριμάχου δὲ Λεύκιππος· Λευκίππῳ δὲ ἄρρενες παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο, θυγάτηρ δὲ Καλχινία. ταύτῃ τῇ Καλχινίᾳ Ποσειδῶνα συγγενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ τὸν τεχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἔθρεψεν ὁ Λεύκιππος καὶ τελευτῶν παρέδωκεν οἱ τὴν ἀρχήν· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν Πέρατος
8 τῷ παιδί. τὰ δὲ ἐς Πλημναῖον τὸν Περάτου μάλιστα ἐφαίνετό μοι θαύματος ἄξια· τὰ γάρ οἱ τικτομένα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτίκα ὁπότε πρῶτον κλαύσειεν ἠφίει τὴν ψυχήν, ἐς ὃ Δημήτηρ ἔλεον ἴσχει Πλημναίου, παραγενομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν ὡς δὴ γυνὴ ξείνη Πλημναίῳ παῖδα ἀνέθρεψεν Ὀρθόπολιν. Ὀρθοπόλιδι δὲ θυγάτηρ γίνεται Χρυσόρθη· ταύτην τεκεῖν νομίζουσιν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὁ παῖς ὠνομάσθη Κόρωνος, Κορώνου δὲ γίνονται Κόραξ καὶ νεώτερος Λαμέδων.

the Corinthians built the temple for Olympian Zeus, and that suddenly fire from some quarter fell on it and destroyed it.

The Sicyonians, the neighbours of the Corinthians at this part of the border, say about their own land that Aegialeus was its first and aboriginal inhabitant, that the district of the Peloponnesus still called Aegialus was named after him because he reigned over it, and that he founded the city Aegialea on the plain. Their citadel, they say, was where is now their sanctuary of Athena; further, that Aegialeus begat Europs, Europs Telchis, and Telchis Apis. This Apis reached such a height of power before Pelops came to Olympia that all the territory south of the Isthmus was called after him Apia. Apis begat Thelxion, Thelxion Aegyrus, he Thurimachus, and Thurimachus Leucippus. Leucippus had no male issue, only a daughter Calchinia. There is a story that this Calchinia mated with Poseidon; her child was reared by Leucippus, who at his death handed over to him the kingdom. His name was Peratus. What is reported of Plemnaeüs, the son of Peratus, seemed to me very wonderful. All the children borne to him by his wife died the very first time they wailed. At last Demeter took pity on Plemnaeüs, came to Aegialea in the guise of a strange woman, and reared for Plemnaeüs his son Orthopolis. Orthopolis had a daughter Chrysorthe, who is thought to have borne a son named Coronus to Apollo. Coronus had two sons, Corax and a younger one Lamedon.

VI. Κόρακος δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἄπαιδος ὑπὸ τοῦ τον τὸν καιρὸν Ἐπωπεὺς ἀφικόμενος ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος στρατὸν σφισι πολέμιον λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν χώραν τότε ἐλθεῖν πρῶτον, τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πάντα τὸν χρόνον διατελέσασιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ. αἰτία δὲ ἥδε· Ἀντιόπης ἐν Ἕλλησι τῆς Νυκτέως ὄνομα ἦν ἐπὶ κάλλει, καί οἱ καὶ φήμη προσῆν Ἀσωποῦ θυγατέρα, ὃς τὴν Θηβαΐδα καὶ Πλαταιίδα ὁρίζει, καὶ οὐ
2 Νυκτέως εἶναι. ταύτην οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε γυναῖκα αἰτήσας εἴτε θρασύτερα ἐξ ἀρχῆς βουλευσάμενος Ἐπωπεὺς ἁρπάζει· ὡς δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι σὺν ὅπλοις ἦλθον, ἐνταῦθα τιτρώσκεται μὲν Νυκτεύς, ἐτρώθη δὲ κρατῶν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Ἐπωπεύς. Νυκτέα μὲν δὴ κάμνοντα ὀπίσω κομίζουσιν ἐς Θήβας, καὶ ὡς ἔμελλε τελευτᾶν, Λύκον ἀδελφὸν ὄντα παραδίδωσι Θηβαίων ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἄρχειν· Λάβδακον γὰρ τὸν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου παῖδα ἔτι αὐτός τε ἐπετρόπευεν ὁ Νυκτεὺς καὶ τότε ἀπέλιπεν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἐκείνῳ. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Λύκον ἱκέτευσε στρατῷ μείζονι ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν ἐλάσαντα τιμωρήσασθαι μὲν Ἐπωπέα,
3 κακοῦν δὲ εἰ λάβοι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀντιόπην. Ἐτωπεὺς δὲ τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα ἐπινίκια ἔθυε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ᾠκοδόμει ναόν, ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένῳ δὲ εὔξατο ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν θεὸν εἴ οἱ τετελεσμένος ἐστὶν ὁ ναὸς κατὰ γνώμην· μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔλαιον λέγουσι ῥυῆναι πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Ἐπωπέα κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος ἀμεληθέντος κατ' ἀρχάς, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι Λύκῳ δεῆσαι πολέμου· Λαμέδων γὰρ ὁ Κορώνου

VI. Corax died without issue, and at about this time came Epopeus from Thessaly and took the kingdom. In his reign the first hostile army is said to have invaded the land, which before this had enjoyed unbroken peace. The reason was this. Antiope, the daughter of Nycteus, had a name among the Greeks for beauty, and there was also a report that her father was not Nycteus but Asopus, the river that separates the territories of Thebes and Plataea. This woman Epopeus carried off, but I do not know whether he asked for her hand or adopted a bolder policy from the beginning. The Thebans came against him in arms, and in the battle Nycteus was wounded. Epopeus also was wounded, but won the day. Nycteus they carried back ill to Thebes, and when he was about to die he appointed to be regent of Thebes his brother Lycus; for Labdacus, the son of Polydorus, the son of Cadmus, being still a child, was the ward of Nycteus, who on this occasion entrusted the office of guardian to Lycus. He also besought him to attack Aegialea with a larger army and bring vengeance upon Epopeus; Antiope herself, if taken, was to be punished. As to Epopeus, he forthwith offered sacrifice for his victory and began a temple of Athena, and when this was complete he prayed the goddess to make known whether the temple was finished to her liking, and after the prayer they say that olive oil flowed before the temple. Afterwards Epopeus also died of his wound, which he had neglected at first, so that Lycus had now no need to wage war. For Lamedon, the

βασιλεύσας μετὰ Ἐπωπέα ἐξέδωκεν Ἀντιόπην. ἡ δὲ ὡς ἐς Θήβας ἤγετο τὴν ἐπ᾽ Ἐλευθερῶν
4 ἐνταῦθα καθ᾽ ὁδὸν τίκτει. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πεποίηκεν Ἄσιος ὁ Ἀμφιτολέμου·

Ἀντιόπη δ᾽ ἔτεκε Ζῆθον καὶ Ἄμφίονα δῖον
Ἀσωποῦ κούρη ποταμοῦ βαθυδινήεντος,
Ζηνί τε κυσαμένη καὶ Ἐπωπέι ποιμένι λαῶν.

Ὅμηρος δὲ σφᾶς ἀνήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον τοῦ γένους καὶ Θήβας φησὶν οἰκίσαι πρώτους, ἀποκρίνων τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς
5 Καδμείας. Λαμέδων δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔγημεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν γυναῖκα Φηνὼ Κλυτίου· καὶ ὕστερον γενομένου οἱ πολέμου πρὸς Ἄρχανδρον καὶ Ἀρχιτέλην τοὺς Ἀχαιοῦ συμμαχήσοντα ἐπηγάγετο Σικυῶνα ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ θυγατέρα τε συνῴκισεν αὐτῷ Ζευξίππην καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου βασιλεύσαντος ἡ γῆ Σικυωνία καὶ Σικυὼν ἀντὶ Αἰγιάλης ἡ πόλις ὠνομάσθη. Σικυῶνα δὲ οὐ Μαραθῶνος τοῦ Ἐπωπέως, Μητίονος δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως φασίν. ὁμολογεῖ δέ σφισι καὶ Ἄσιος, ἐπεὶ Ἡσίοδός γε καὶ Ἴβυκος, ὁ μὲν ἐποίησεν ὡς Ἐρεχθέως εἴη Σικυών, Ἴβυκος δὲ
6 εἶναι Πέλοπός φησιν αὐτόν. Σικυῶνος δὲ γίνεται Χθονοφύλη, Χθονοφύλης δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Πόλυβον γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὴν Φλίας ὁ Διονύσου γαμεῖ, καί οἱ παῖς Ἀνδροδάμας γίνεται. Πόλυβος δὲ Ταλαῷ τῷ Βίαντος βασιλεύοντι Ἀργείων Λυσιάνασσαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἔδωκε· καὶ

son of Coronus, who became king after Epopeus, gave up Antiope. As she was being taken to Thebes by way of Eleutherae, she was delivered there on the road. On this matter Asius the son of Amphiptolemus says in his poem :— fl. 640–617 B.C.

"Zethus and Amphion had Antiope for their mother,
Daughter of Asopus, the swift, deep-eddying river,
Having conceived of Zeus and Epopeus, shepherd of peoples."

Homer traces their descent to the more august side of their family, and says that they were the first founders of Thebes, in my opinion distinguishing the lower city from the Cadmea. When Lamedon became king he took to wife an Athenian woman, Pheno, the daughter of Clytius. Afterwards also, when war had arisen between him and Archander and Architeles, the sons of Achaeüs, he brought in as his ally Sicyon from Attica, and gave him Zeuxippe his daughter to wife. This man became king, and the land was named after him Sicyonia, and the city Sicyon instead of Aegiale. But they say that Sicyon was not the son of Marathon, the son of Epopeus, but of Metion the son of Erechtheus. Asius confirms their statement, while Hesiod makes Sicyon the son of Erechtheus, and Ibycus says that his father was Pelops. Sicyon had a daughter Chthonophyle, and they say that she and Hermes were the parents of Polybus. Afterwards she married Phlias, the son of Dionysus, and gave birth to Androdamas. Polybus gave his daughter Lysianassa to Talaus the son of Bias, king of the

ὅτε Ἄδραστος ἔφευγεν ἐξ Ἄργους, παρὰ Πόλυβον ἦλθεν ἐς Σικυῶνα καὶ ὕστερον ἀποθανόντος Πολύβου τὴν ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. Ἀδράστου δὲ ἐς Ἄργος κατελθόντος Ἰανίσκος ἀπόγονος Κλυτίου τοῦ Λαμέδοντι κηδεύσαντος ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἰανίσκου Φαῖστος τῶν Ἡρακλέους λεγόμενος παίδων
7 καὶ οὗτος εἶναι. Φαίστου δὲ κατὰ μαντείαν μετοικήσαντος ἐς Κρήτην βασιλεῦσαι λέγεται Ζεύξιππος Ἀπόλλωνος υἱὸς καὶ νύμφης Συλλίδος.[1] μετὰ δὲ Ζεύξιππον τελευτήσαντα Ἀγαμέμνων στρατὸν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἱππόλυτον Ῥοπάλου παῖδα τοῦ Φαίστου· δείσας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπιόντα Ἱππόλυτος συνεχώρησεν Ἀγαμέμνονος κατήκοος καὶ Μυκηναίων εἶναι. Ἱππολύτου δὲ ἦν τούτου Λακεστάδης. Φάλκης δὲ ὁ Τημένου καταλαβὼν νύκτωρ Σικυῶνα σὺν Δωριεῦσι κακὸν μὲν ἄτε Ἡρακλείδην καὶ αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν οὐδέν, κοινωνὸν δὲ ἔσχε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

VII. Καὶ Δωριεῖς μὲν Σικυώνιοι γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ μοῖρα τῆς Ἀργείας· τὴν δὲ τοῦ Λιγιαλέως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν Δημήτριος καθελὼν ὁ Ἀντιγόνου τῇ πάλαι ποτὲ ἀκροπόλει προσῴκισε τὴν νῦν πόλιν. ἐχόντων δὲ ἀσθενῶς ἤδη τῶν Σικυωνίων· αἰτίαν δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιοῖ τις ἂν ζητῶν, ἀποχρῶτο δὲ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ λεγομένῳ περὶ Διός,

ὃς δὴ πολλάων πολίων κατέλυσε κάρηνα --,

διακειμένοις οὖν ἀδυνάτως ἐπιγενόμενος σεισμὸς

[1] Ὑλλίδος O. Müller.

Argives; and when Adrastus fled from Argos he came to Polybus at Sicyon, and afterwards on the death of Polybus he became king at Sicyon. When Adrastus returned to Argos, Ianiscus, a descendant of Clytius the father-in-law of Lamedon, came from Attica and was made king, and when Ianiscus died he was succeeded by Phaestus, said to have been one of the children of Heracles. After Phaestus in obedience to an oracle migrated to Crete, the next king is said to have been Zeuxippus, the son of Apollo and the nymph Syllis. On the death of Zeuxippus, Agamemnon led an army against Sicyon and king Hippolytus, the son of Rhopalus, the son of Phaestus. In terror of the army that was attacking him, Hippolytus agreed to become subject to Agamemnon and the Mycenaeans. This Hippolytus was the father of Lacestades. Phalces the son of Temenus, with the Dorians, surprised Sicyon by night, but did Lacestades no harm, because he too was one of the Heracleidae, and made him partner in the kingdom.

VII. From that time the Sicyonians became Dorians and their land a part of the Argive territory. The city built by Aegialeus on the plain was destroyed by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who founded the modern city near what was once the ancient citadel. The reason why the Sicyonians grew weak it would be wrong to seek; we must be content with Homer's saying about Zeus:— 303 B.C.

"Many, indeed, are the cities of which he has levelled the strongholds."

When they had lost their power there came upon

ὀλίγου τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησεν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον, πολλὰ δὲ σφᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἀφείλετο. ἐκάκωσε δὲ καὶ περὶ Καρίαν καὶ Λυκίαν τὰς πόλεις καὶ Ῥοδίοις ἐσείσθη μάλιστα ἡ νῆσος, ὥστε καὶ τὸ λόγιον τετελέσθαι Σιβύλλῃ τὸ ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον ἔδοξεν.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κορινθίας ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Σικυωνίαν Λύκου Μεσσηνίου μνῆμά ἐστιν, ὅστις δὴ οὗτος ὁ Λύκος· οὐ γάρ τινα Λύκον εὑρίσκω Μεσσήνιον ἀσκήσαντα πένταθλον οὐδὲ Ὀλυμπικὴν ἀνῃρημένον νίκην. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ χῶμά ἐστι γῆς, αὐτοὶ δὲ Σικυώνιοι τὰ πολλὰ ἐοικότι τρόπῳ θάπτουσι. τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτουσι, λίθου δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κρηπῖδα κίονας ἐφιστᾶσι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς ἀετοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιγράφουσιν οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' αὑτοῦ καὶ οὐ πατρόθεν ὑπειπόντες κελεύουσι τὸν νεκρὸν χαίρειν.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ Λύκου διαβεβηκόσιν ἤδη τὸν Ἀσωπόν, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον, ὀλίγον δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τάφος Εὐπόλιδι Ἀθηναίῳ ποιήσαντι κωμῳδίαν. προελθοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστρέψασιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Ξενοδίκης μνῆμά ἐστιν ἀποθανούσης ἐν ᾠδῖσι· πεποίηται δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν τῇ γραφῇ μάλιστα ἁρμόζοι· γραφὴ δὲ
4 εἴπερ ἄλλη τις καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶ θέας ἀξία. προελθοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τάφος Σικυωνίοις ἐστίν, ὅσοι περὶ Ἑλλήνην καὶ Δύμην τὴν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐτελεύτησαν· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς σαφέστερον ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς

them an earthquake, which almost depopulated their city and took from them many of their famous sights. It damaged also the cities of Caria and Lycia, and the island of Rhodes was very violently shaken, so that it was thought that the Sibyl had had her utterance about Rhodes[1] fulfilled.

When you have come from the Corinthian to the Sicyonian territory you see the tomb of Lycus the Messenian, whoever this Lycus may be; for I can discover no Messenian Lycus who practised the *pentathlon*[2] or won a victory at Olympia. This tomb is a mound of earth, but the Sicyonians themselves usually bury their dead in a uniform manner. They cover the body in the ground, and over it they build a basement of stone upon which they set pillars. Above these they put something very like the pediment of a temple. They add no inscription, except that they give the dead man's name without that of his father and bid him farewell.

After the tomb of Lycus, but on the other side of the Asopus, there is on the right the Olympium, and a little farther on, to the left of the road, the grave of Eupolis,[3] the Athenian comic poet. Farther on, if you turn in the direction of the city, you see the tomb of Xenodice, who died in childbirth. It has not been made after the native fashion, but so as to harmonize best with the painting, which is very well worth seeing. Farther on from here is the grave of the Sicyonians who were killed at Pellene, at Dyme of the Achaeans, in Megalopolis and at Sellasia. Their story I will relate more fully presently. 222 B.C.

[1] That it should perish and be left destitute.
[2] See p. 157.
[3] Flourished at the time of the Peloponnesian war.

δηλώσω. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ πηγή ἐστί σφισιν
ἐν σπηλαίῳ, ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἄνεισιν ἐκ γῆς,
ἐπιρρεῖ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου τοῦ σπηλαίου· καὶ
καλεῖται δι' αὐτὸ Στάζουσα ἡ πηγή.

5 Ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν
Ἀκραίας, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Διοσκούρων· ξόανα δὲ
οὗτοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Τύχης ἐστί. τοῦ
θεάτρου δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ᾠκοδομημένου τὸν
ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ πεποιημένον ἄνδρα ἀσπίδα ἔχοντα
Ἀρατόν φασιν εἶναι τὸν Κλεινίου. μετὰ δὲ τὸ
θέατρον Διονύσου ναός ἐστι· χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ
ἐλέφαντος ὁ θεός, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Βάκχαι λίθου
λευκοῦ. ταύτας τὰς γυναῖκας ἱερὰς εἶναι καὶ
Διονύσῳ μαίνεσθαι λέγουσιν. ἄλλα δὲ ἀγάλματα
ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ Σικυωνίοις ἐστί· ταῦτα μιᾷ καθ'
ἕκαστον ἔτος νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ Διονύσιον ἐκ τοῦ καλου-
μένου κοσμητηρίου κομίζουσι, κομίζουσι δὲ μετὰ
6 δάδων τε ἡμμένων καὶ ὕμνων ἐπιχωρίων. ἡγεῖται
μὲν οὖν ὃν Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσιν — Ἀνδροδάμας
σφίσιν ὁ Φλίαντος τοῦτον ἱδρύσατο —, ἕπεται
δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Λύσιος, ὃν Θηβαῖος Φάνης
εἰπούσης τῆς Πυθίας ἐκόμισεν ἐκ Θηβῶν. ἐς
δὲ Σικυῶνα ἦλθεν ὁ Φάνης, ὅτε Ἀριστόμαχος ὁ
Κλεοδαίου τῆς γενομένης μαντείας ἁμαρτὼν δι'
αὐτὸ καὶ καθόδου τῆς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἥμαρτεν.
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου βαδίζουσιν ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν,
ἔστι ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν δεξιᾷ Λιμναίας. καὶ ὅτι
μὲν κατερρύηκεν ὁ ὄροφος, δῆλά ἐστιν ἰδόντι·
περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος οὔτε ὡς κομισθέντος
ἑτέρωσε οὔτε ὄντινα αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη τρόπον
εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν.

By the gate they have a spring in a cave, the water of which does not rise out of the earth, but flows down from the roof of the cave. For this reason it is called the Dripping Spring.

On the modern citadel is a sanctuary of Fortune of the Height, and after it one of the Dioscuri. Their images and that of Fortune are of wood. On the stage of the theatre built under the citadel is a statue of a man with a shield, who they say is Aratus, the son of Cleinias. After the theatre is a temple of Dionysus. The god is of gold and ivory, and by his side are Bacchanals of white marble. These women they say are sacred to Dionysus and maddened by his inspiration. The Sicyonians have also some images which are kept secret. These one night in each year they carry to the temple of Dionysus from what they call the Cosmeterium (*Tiring-room*), and they do so with lighted torches and native hymns. The first is the one named Baccheüs, set up by Androdamas, the son of Phlias, and this is followed by the one called Lysius (*Deliverer*), brought from Thebes by the Theban Phanes at the command of the Pythian priestess. Phanes came to Sicyon when Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeüs, failed to understand the oracle[1] given him, and therefore failed to return to the Peloponnesus. As you walk from the temple of Dionysus to the market-place you see on the right a temple of Artemis of the Lake. A look shows that the roof has fallen in, but the inhabitants cannot tell whether the image has been removed or how it was destroyed on the spot.

[1] To wait for "the third fruit," *i.e.* the third generation. It was interpreted to mean the third year.

7 Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσελθοῦσι Πειθοῦς ἐστιν ἱερὸν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἔχον. Πειθὼ δὲ ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε αὐτοῖς κατέστη σέβεσθαι. Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἀποκτείναντες Πύθωνα παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν καθαρσίων ἕνεκα. γενομένου δέ σφισι δείματος, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν Φόβου ὀνομάζουσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ μὲν ἐς Κρήτην παρὰ Καρμάνορα ἀπετράποντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ Αἰγιαλείᾳ νόσος ἐπέλαβε· καὶ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον οἱ μάντεις Ἀπόλλωνα ἱλάσασθαι καὶ
8 Ἄρτεμιν. οἱ δὲ παῖδας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σύθαν ποταμὸν ἀποστέλλουσιν ἱκετεύοντας· ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ πεισθέντας τοὺς θεούς φασιν ἐς τὴν τότε ἀκρόπολιν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἔνθα πρῶτον ἀφίκοντο Πειθοῦς ἐστιν ἱερόν. τούτοις δὲ ἐοικότα καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Σύθαν ἴασιν οἱ παῖδες τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ ἀγαγόντες δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τὸ τῆς Πειθοῦς ἱερὸν αὖθις ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν ναόν φασι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀγορᾷ, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Προίτου ποιηθῆναι· τὰς γάρ οἱ θυγατέρας ἐν-
9 ταῦθα τῆς μανίας παύσασθαι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς Μελέαγρος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν ἀνέθηκε τὴν λόγχην ᾗ τὸν ὗν κατειργάσατο. καὶ αὐλοὺς ἀνατεθῆναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Μαρσύου· γενομένης γὰρ τῷ Σιληνῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαρσύαν κατενεγκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον, ἀναφανέντας δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀσωπῷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ ποιμένος τοῦ εὑρόντος δοθῆναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. τούτων τῶν ἀναθημάτων οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο, συγκατεκαύθη

Within the market-place is a sanctuary of Persuasion; this too has no image. The worship of Persuasion was established among them for the following reason. When Apollo and Artemis had killed Pytho they came to Aegialea to obtain purification. Dread coming upon them at the place now named Fear, they turned aside to Carmanor in Crete, and the people of Aegialea were smitten by a plague. When the seers bade them propitiate Apollo and Artemis, they sent seven boys and seven maidens as suppliants to the river Sythas. They say that the deities, persuaded by these, came to what was then the citadel, and the place that they reached first is the sanctuary of Persuasion. Conformable with this story is the ceremony they perform at the present day; the children go to the Sythas at the feast of Apollo, and having brought, as they pretend, the deities to the sanctuary of Persuasion, they say that they take them back again to the temple of Apollo. The temple stands in the modern market-place, and was originally, it is said, made by Proetus, because in this place his daughters recovered from their madness. It is also said that in this temple Meleager dedicated the spear with which he slew the boar. There is also a story that the flutes of Marsyas are dedicated here. When the Silenus met with his disaster, the river Marsyas carried the flutes to the Maeander; reappearing in the Asopus they were cast ashore in the Sicyonian territory and given to Apollo by the shepherd who found them. I found none of these offerings still in existence, for they were destroyed

γὰρ ἐμπιπραμένῳ τῷ ναῷ· τὸν δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα Πυθοκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν.

VIII. Τῷ δὲ τῆς Πειθοῦς ἱερῷ τὸ ἐγγὺς τέμενος ἀνειμένον βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων οἰκία ποτὲ ἦν Κλέωνος τυράννου· Κλεισθένης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀριστωνύμου τοῦ Μύρωνος ἐχόντων ἔτι τὴν κάτω πόλιν Σικυωνίων ἐτυράννησε, Κλέων δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν πόλει. πρὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἡρῷόν ἐστιν Ἀράτου μέγιστα Ἑλλήνων ἐργασαμένου τῶν ἐφ' 2 αὑτοῦ· ἔχει δὲ ὧδε τὰ ἐς αὐτόν. μετὰ Κλέωνα μοναρχήσαντα ἐνέπεσε τῶν ἐν τέλει πολλοῖς ἐπιθυμία τυραννίδος οὕτω δή τι ἀκάθεκτος ὡς καὶ ἄνδρας δύο Εὐθύδημον καὶ Τιμοκλείδαν ὁμοῦ τυραννῆσαι. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐξέβαλεν ὁ δῆμος, Κλεινίαν τὸν πατέρα Ἀράτου προστησάμενος· ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ἐτυράννησεν Ἀβαντίδας. Κλεινίᾳ μὲν οὖν συνεβεβήκει πρότερον ἔτι ἡ τελευτή· Ἄρατον δὲ Ἀβαντίδας φυγάδα ἐποίησεν, ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρησεν Ἄρατος ἐθελοντής. Ἀβαντίδαν μὲν οὖν κτείνουσιν ἄνδρες τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τύραννος δὲ αὐτίκα ἐγεγόνει ὁ 3 Ἀβαντίδου πατὴρ Πασέας· Νικοκλῆς δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀνελὼν ἐτυράννησεν αὐτός. ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Νικοκλέα Ἄρατος ἀφικόμενος Σικυωνίων φυγάσι καὶ Ἀργείοις μισθωτοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἔλαθεν ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ —νύκτωρ γὰρ δὴ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐποιεῖτο—, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιασάμενος τῶν φυλασσόντων ἐγένετο ἐντὸς τείχους· καὶ —ὑπέφαινε γὰρ ἕως ἤδη —προσλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν σπουδῇ τὴν τυραννικὴν τρέπεται. καὶ ταύτην μὲν εἷλεν οὐ χαλεπῶς, ὁ δὲ Νικοκλῆς αὐτὸς ἔλαθεν ἀποδράς. Σικυωνίοις δὲ ἀπέδωκεν Ἄρατος ἐξ ἴσου πολιτεύ-

by fire when the temple was burnt. The temple that I saw, and its image, were dedicated by Pythocles.

VIII. The precinct near the sanctuary of Persuasion that is devoted to Roman emperors was once the house of the tyrant Cleon. He became tyrant in the modern city; there was another tyranny while the Sicyonians still lived in the lower city, that of Cleisthenes, the son of Aristonymus, the son of Myron. Before this house is a hero-shrine of Aratus, whose achievements eclipsed those of all contemporary Greeks. His history is as follows. After the despotism of Cleon, many of those in authority were seized with such an ungovernable passion for tyranny that two actually became tyrants together, Euthydemus and Timocleidas. These were expelled by the people, who made Cleinias, the father of Aratus, their champion. A few years afterwards Abantidas became tyrant. Before this time Cleinias had met his death, and Aratus went into exile, either of his own accord or because he was compelled to do so by Abantidas. Now Abantidas was killed by some natives, and his father Paseas immediately became tyrant. He was killed by Nicocles, who succeeded him. This Nicocles was attacked by Aratus with a force of Sicyonian exiles and Argive mercenaries. Making his attempt by night, he eluded some of the defenders in the darkness; the others he overcame, and forced his way within the wall. Day was now breaking, and taking the populace with him he hastened to the tyrant's house. This he easily captured, but Nicocles himself succeeded in making his escape. Aratus restored equality of political rights to the Sicyonians,

c. 590 B.C.

271–213 B.C.

251 B.C.

εσθαι διαλλάξας τοῖς φεύγουσιν, οἰκίας μὲν φυγάσι καὶ ὅσα τῶν κτημάτων ἄλλα ἐπέπρατο ἀποδούς, τιμὴν δὲ τοῖς πριαμένοις διέλυσεν
4 *αὐτός. καὶ—ἦν γὰρ δέος τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιγόνου Φίλιππον ἐπιτροπεύοντος τὸν Δημητρίου—, τοῦδε ἕνεκα τοὺς Σικυωνίους ἐς τὸ Ἀχαιῶν συνέδριον ἐσήγαγε Δωριεῖς ὄντας. αὐτίκα δὲ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ᾑρητο, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπὶ Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλῶν πολεμίων ὄντων τὴν γῆν ἐπόρθησε· Κόρινθον δὲ ἔχοντος Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φρουρᾶς Μακεδόνων ἐνούσης τοὺς Μακεδόνας τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως κατέπληξε καὶ ἄλλους τε κρατήσας μάχῃ διέφθειρε καὶ Περσαῖον ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ τεταγμένον, ὃς παρὰ Ζήνωνα τὸν Μνασέου κατὰ μάθησιν σοφίας*
5 *ἐφοίτησεν. ἐλευθερώσαντος δὲ Ἀράτου Κόρινθον προσεχώρησαν μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι οἱ τὴν Ἀργολίδα Ἀκτὴν οἰκοῦντες καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἰσθμοῦ Μεγαρεῖς, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἐποιήσατο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἄγις ὁ Εὐδαμίδου βασιλεὺς ἔφθησαν μὲν Πελλήνην ἑλόντες ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, ἥκοντι δὲ Ἀράτῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ συμβαλόντες ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τὴν Πελλήνην ἐκλιπόντες ἀνα-*
6 *χωροῦσιν οἴκαδε ὑπόσπονδοι. Ἄρατος δέ, ὡς οἱ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ προεκεχωρήκει, δεινὸν ἡγεῖτο Πειραιᾶ καὶ Μουνυχίαν, ἔτι δὲ Σαλαμῖνα καὶ Σούνιον ἐχόμενα ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων περιοφθῆναι, καὶ—οὐ γὰρ ἤλπιζε δύνασθαι πρὸς βίαν αὐτὰ ἐξελεῖν—Διογένην πείθει τὸν ἐν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἄρχοντα ἀφεῖναι τὰ χωρία ἐπὶ ταλάντοις πεντή-*

striking a bargain for those in exile; he restored to them their houses and all their other possessions which had been sold, compensating the buyers out of his own purse. Moreover, as all the Greeks were afraid of the Macedonians and of Antigonus, the guardian of Philip, the son of Demetrius, he induced the Sicyonians, who were Dorians, to join the Achaean League. He was immediately elected general by the Achaeans, and leading them against the Locrians of Amphissa and into the land of the Aetolians, their enemies, he ravaged their territory. Corinth was held by Antigonus, and there was a Macedonian garrison in the city, but he threw them into a panic by the suddenness of his assault, winning a battle and killing among others Persaeüs, the commander of the garrison, who had studied philosophy under Zeno,[1] the son of Mnaseas. When Aratus had liberated Corinth, the League was joined by the Epidaurians and Troezenians inhabiting Argolian Acte, and by the Megarians among those beyond the Isthmus, while Ptolemy made an alliance with the Achaeans. The Lacedaemonians and king Agis, the son of Eudamidas, surprised and took Pellene by a sudden onslaught, but when Aratus and his army arrived they were defeated in an engagement, evacuated Pellene, and returned home under a truce. After his success in the Peloponnesus, Aratus thought it a shame to allow the Macedonians to hold unchallenged Peiraeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium; but not expecting to be able to take them by force he bribed Diogenes, the commander of the garrisons, to give up the positions for a hundred and

[1] The Stoic philosopher (*c.* 360–270 B.C.).

κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων συνετέλεσεν αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίοις ἕκτον μέρος. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόμαχον τυραννοῦντα ἐν Ἄργει δημοκρατίαν ἀποδόντα Ἀργείοις ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν συντελεῖν, Μαντίνειάν τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχόντων εἶλεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πάντα ἀνθρώπῳ τελεῖται κατὰ γνώμην, εἰ δὴ καὶ Ἄρατον κατέλαβεν ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιγόνου σύμμαχον· ἐγένετο δὲ οὕτως.

IX. Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν Σπάρτῃ Παυσανίαν ἐμιμεῖτο τυραννίδος τε ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ νόμοις τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος. ἅτε δὲ ὄντι αὐτῷ Παυσανίου θερμοτέρῳ καὶ οὐ φιλοψύχῳ ταχὺ τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ φρονήματος καὶ τόλμης κατείργαστο, καὶ βασιλέα τε οἰκίας τῆς ἑτέρας Εὐρυδαμίδαν παῖδα ἔτι ἀνελὼν φαρμάκῳ διὰ τῶν ἐφορευόντων ἐς Ἐπικλείδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν μετέστησε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς γερουσίας καταλύσας πατρονόμους τῷ λόγῳ κατέστησεν ἀντ' αὐτῶν. ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ πραγμάτων μειζόνων καὶ ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπέθετο Ἀχαιοῖς πρώτοις, συμμάχους ἐλπίζων ἕξειν ἣν κρατήσῃ καὶ μάλιστα ἐμποδὼν οὐκ ἐθέλων εἶναι οἱ τοῖς δρωμένοις.
2 συμβαλὼν δὲ περὶ Δύμην τὴν ὑπὲρ Πατρῶν, Ἀράτου καὶ τότε ἡγουμένου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ. τοῦτο Ἄρατον ἠνάγκασεν ὑπέρ τε Ἀχαιῶν καὶ αὐτῆς Σικυῶνος δείσαντα Ἀντίγονον ἐπάγεσθαι. Κλεομένους δὲ παραβάντος ἦν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον συνέθετο εἰρήνην καὶ παράσπονδα ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ ἄλλα δράσαντος καὶ Μεγαλο-

fifty talents, himself helping the Athenians by contributing a sixth part of the sum. He induced Aristomachus also, the tyrant of Argos, to restore to the Argives their democracy and to join the Achaean League; he captured Mantinea from the Lacedaemonians who held it. But no man finds all his plans turn out according to his liking, and even Aratus was compelled to become an ally of the Macedonians and Antigonus in the following way.

IX. Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, having succeeded to the kingship at Sparta, resembled Pausanias[1] in being dissatisfied with the established constitution and in aiming at a tyranny. A more fiery man than Pausanias, and no coward, he quickly succeeded by spirit and daring in accomplishing all his ambition. He poisoned Eurydamidas, the king of the other[2] royal house, while yet a boy, raised to the throne by means of the ephors his brother Epicleidas, destroyed the power of the senate, and appointed in its stead a nominal Council of Fathers. Ambitious for greater things and for supremacy over the Greeks, he first attacked the Achaeans, hoping if successful to have them as allies, and especially wishing that they should not hinder his activities. Engaging them at Dyme beyond Patrae, Aratus being still leader of the Achaeans, he won 225 B.C.
the victory. In fear for the Achaeans and for Sicyon itself, Aratus was forced by this defeat to bring in Antigonus as an ally. Cleomenes had violated the peace which he had made with Antigonus and had openly acted in many ways contrary to treaty,

[1] The victor of Plataea (479 B.C.). Afterwards put to death for treachery.

[2] There were two kings at Sparta, one from each of the two royal houses.

πολίτας ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτους, οὕτω διαβάντος
ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἀντιγόνου συμβάλλουσιν
Ἀχαιοὶ Κλεομένει περὶ Σελλασίαν. νικησάντων
δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Σελλασία τε ἠνδραποδίσθη καὶ
αὐτὴ Λακεδαίμων ἑάλω. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν οὖν
ἀπέδωκεν Ἀντίγονος καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πολιτείαν τὴν
3 πάτριον· τῶν δὲ Λεωνίδου παίδων Ἐπικλείδας
μὲν ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, Κλεομένην δὲ φεύγοντα
ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ τιμῆς παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ πρῶτα
ἔχοντα συνέβη δεθῆναι, καταγνωσθέντα Αἰγυ-
πτίων ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα συνιστάναι. καὶ
ἀπέδρα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου καὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξαν-
δρεῦσιν ἀρχὴν θορύβου παρέσχε· τέλος δέ, ὡς
ἡλίσκετο, ἀπέσφαξεν αὑτόν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ
ἄσμενοι Κλεομένους ἀπαλλαγέντες βασιλεύεσθαι
μὲν οὐκέτι ἠξίωσαν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε
διαμένει σφίσιν ἐκείνης τῆς πολιτείας. Ἀράτῳ
δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἅτε ἀνδρὶ εὐεργέτῃ καὶ συγκατειρ-
4 γασμένῳ λαμπρὰ οὕτω διέμεινεν εὔνους. Φίλιπ-
πος δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν—οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν
Ἄρατος θυμῷ πολλὰ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους χρώ-
μενον ἐπῄνει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὡρμημένον ἐπεῖχε μὴ
ποιεῖν—, τούτων ἕνεκεν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἄρατον, οὐδὲν
προϊδομένῳ δούς οἱ φάρμακον. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐξ
Αἰγίου—ταύτῃ γὰρ τὸ χρεὼν ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν—
ἐς Σικυῶνα κομίσαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ τὸ ἡρῷον
Ἀράτειον ἔτι ὀνομάζεται· Φιλίππῳ δὲ καὶ ἐς
Εὐρυκλείδην καὶ Μίκωνα Ἀθηναίους ὅμοια εἰρ-
γάσθη· καὶ γὰρ τούσδε ὄντας ῥήτορας καὶ οὐκ
5 ἀπιθάνους τῷ δήμῳ φαρμάκοις ἔκτεινεν. ἔμελλε
δὲ ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ Φιλίππῳ τὸ ἀνδροφόνον φάρ-
μακον ἔσεσθαι συμφορά· τὸν γὰρ οἱ παῖδα

especially in laying waste Megalopolis. So Antigonus crossed into the Peloponnesus and the Achaeans 222 B.C.
met Cleomenes at Sellasia. The Achaeans were victorious, the people of Sellasia were sold into slavery, and Lacedaemon itself was captured. Antigonus and the Achaeans restored to the Lacedaemonians the constitution of their fathers; but of the children of Leonidas, Epicleidas was killed in the battle, and Cleomenes fled to Egypt. Held in the highest honour by Ptolemy, he came to be cast into prison, being convicted of inciting Egyptians to rebel against their king. He made his escape from prison and began a riot among the Alexandrians, but at last, on being captured, he fell by his own hand. The Lacedaemonians, glad to be rid of Cleomenes, refused to be ruled by kings any longer, but the rest of their ancient constitution they have kept to the present day. Antigonus remained a constant friend of Aratus, looking upon him as a benefactor who had helped him to accomplish brilliant deeds. But when Philip succeeded to the throne, since Aratus did not approve of his violent treatment of his subjects, and in some cases even opposed the accomplishment of his purposes, he killed Aratus by giving him secretly a dose of poison. This fate came upon Aratus at Aegium, from which place he was carried to Sicyon and buried, and there is still in that city the hero-shrine of Aratus. Philip treated two Athenians, Eurycleides and Micon, in a similar way. These men also, who were orators enjoying the confidence of the people, he killed by poison. After all, Philip himself in his turn was fated to suffer disaster through the fatal cup. Philip's son, Demetrius, was poisoned

Δημήτριον ὁ νεώτερος τῶν Φιλίππου παίδων Περσεὺς φαρμάκῳ διέφθειρε καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀθυμήσαντι παρέσχεν αἰτίαν ἀποθανεῖν. παρεδήλωσα δὲ τάδε ἀπιδὼν ἐς τὸ Ἡσιόδου σὺν θεῷ πεποιημένον, τὸν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ βουλεύοντα ἄδικα ἐς αὐτὸν πρῶτον τρέπειν.

6 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀράτου ἡρῷον ἔστι μὲν Ποσειδῶνι Ἰσθμίῳ βωμός, ἔστι δὲ Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος καὶ Ἄρτεμις ὀνομαζομένη Πατρῴα, σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα οὐδεμιᾷ· πυραμίδι δὲ ὁ Μειλίχιος, ἡ δὲ κίονί ἐστιν εἰκασμένη. ἐνταῦθα καὶ βουλευτήριόν σφισι πεποίηται καὶ στοὰ καλουμένη Κλεισθένειος ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος· ᾠκοδόμησε δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ὁ Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν τὸν πρὸς Κίρρα πόλεμον συμπολεμήσας Ἀμφικτύοσι. τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς, τέχνη Λυσίππου, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἄρτεμις ἐπίχρυσος.

7 πλησίον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν Λυκίου, κατερρυηκός τε ἤδη καὶ ἥκιστα θέας ἄξιον. φοιτώντων γὰρ λύκων σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ποίμνας ὡς μηδένα εἶναι καρπὸν ἔτι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ θεὸς τόπον τινὰ εἰπὼν ἔνθα ἔκειτο αὖον ξύλον, τούτου φλοιὸν ἔχρησε τοῦ ξύλου καὶ κρέας ὁμοῦ προθεῖναι τοῖς θηρίοις· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ὡς ἐγεύσαντο διέφθειρεν ὁ φλοιός, τὸ ξύλον δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἔκειτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Λυκίου, ὅ τι δὲ ἦν δένδρον οὐδὲ οἱ

8 τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐξηγηταὶ συνίεσαν. τούτου δέ εἰσιν εἰκόνες ἐφεξῆς χαλκαῖ· τὰς Προίτου θυγατέρας λέγουσιν εἶναι σφᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐς γυναῖκας ἄλλας εἶχεν. ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλῆς χαλκοῦς ἐστι· Λύσιππος ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν Σικυώνιος, καὶ πλησίον Ἑρμῆς ἕστηκεν Ἀγοραῖος.

by Perseus, his younger son, and grief at the murder brought the father also to his grave. I mention the incident in passing, with my mind turned to the inspired words of the poet Hesiod,[1] that he who plots mischief against his neighbour directs it first to himself.

After the hero-shrine of Aratus is an altar to Isthmian Poseidon, and also a Zeus Meilichius (*Gracious*) and an Artemis named Patroa (*Paternal*), both of them very inartistic works. The Meilichius is like a pyramid, the Artemis like a pillar. Here too stand their council-chamber and a portico called Cleisthenean from the name of him who built it. It was built from spoils by Cleisthenes, who helped the Amphictyons in the war at Cirrha. In the market-place under the open sky is a bronze Zeus, a work of Lysippus,[2] and by the side of it a gilded Artemis. Hard by is a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius (*Wolf-god*), now fallen into ruins and not worth any attention. For wolves once so preyed upon their flocks that there was no longer any profit therefrom, and the god, mentioning a certain place where lay a dry log, gave an oracle that the bark of this log mixed with meat was to be set out for the beasts to eat. As soon as they tasted it the bark killed them, and that log lay in my time in the sanctuary of the Wolf-god, but not even the guides of the Sicyonians knew what kind of tree it was. Next after this are bronze portrait statues, said to be the daughters of Proetus, but the inscription I found referred to other women. Here there is a bronze Heracles, made by Lysippus the Sicyonian, and hard by stands Hermes of the Market-place.

c. 590 B.C.

[1] *Works and Days*, 265.

[2] Contemporary of Alexander the Great.

X. Ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὄντι οὐ μακρὰν Ἡρακλῆς ἀνάκειται λίθου, Σκόπα ποίημα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρωθι ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους· τὸν μὲν πάντα ἐνταῦθα περίβολον Παιδιζὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐν μέσῳ δέ ἐστι τῷ περιβόλῳ τὸ ἱερόν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ξόανον ἀρχαῖον, τέχνη Φλιασίου Λαφάους. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοιάδε δρᾶν νομίζουσι. Φαίστου ἐν Σικυωνίᾳ λέγουσιν ἐλθόντα καταλαβεῖν Ἡρακλεῖ σφᾶς ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζοντας· οὔκουν ἠξίου δρᾶν οὐδὲν ὁ Φαίστος τῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς θεῷ θύειν. καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἄρνα οἱ Σικυώνιοι σφάξαντες καὶ τοὺς μηροὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καύσαντες τὰ μὲν ἐσθίουσιν ὡς ἀπὸ ἱερείου, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἥρωι τῶν κρεῶν ἐναγίζουσι. τῆς ἑορτῆς δέ, ἣν ἄγουσι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, τὴν προτέραν τῶν ἡμερῶν †ὀνόματα[1] ὀνομάζοντες Ἡράκλεια δὴ καλοῦσι τὴν ὑστέραν.

2 Ἐντεῦθέν ἐστιν ὁδὸς ἐς ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ. παρελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διπλοῦν ἐστιν οἴκημα· κεῖται δὲ Ὕπνος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ καί οἱ πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔτι λείπεται. τὸ ἐνδοτέρω δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεῖται Καρνείῳ, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔσοδος. κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ κήτους ὀστοῦν θαλασσίου μεγέθει μέγα καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ ἄγαλμα Ὀνείρου καὶ Ὕπνος κατακοιμίζων λέοντα, Ἐπιδώτης δὲ ἐπίκλησιν. ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐσιοῦσι καθ' ἑκάτερον τῆς ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν Πανὸς καθήμενον ἄγαλμά ἐστι, τῇ δὲ Ἄρτεμις ἕστηκεν.

3 ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ ὁ θεός ἐστιν οὐκ ἔχων γένεια, χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Καλάμιδος δὲ ἔργον· ἔχει

[1] The text is corrupt here.

X. In the gymnasium not far from the market-place is dedicated a stone Heracles made by Scopas.[1] There is also in another place a sanctuary of Heracles. The whole of the enclosure here they name Paedize: in the middle of the enclosure is the sanctuary, and in it is an old wooden figure carved by Laphaës the Phliasian. I will now describe the ritual at the festival. The story is that on coming to the Sicyonian land Phaestus found the people giving offerings to Heracles as to a hero. Phaestus then refused to do anything of the kind, but insisted on sacrificing to him as to a god. Even at the present day the Sicyonians, after slaying a lamb and burning the thighs upon the altar, eat some of the meat as part of a victim given to a god, while the rest they offer as to a hero. The first day of the festival in honour of Heracles they name . . . ; the second they call Heraclea.

From here is a way to a sanctuary of Asclepius. On passing into the enclosure you see on the left a building with two rooms. In the outer room lies a figure of Sleep, of which nothing remains now except the head. The inner room is given over to the Carnean Apollo; into it none may enter except the priests. In the portico lies a huge bone of a sea-monster, and after it an image of the Dream-god and Sleep, surnamed Epidotes (*Bountiful*), lulling to sleep a lion. Within the sanctuary on either side of the entrance is an image, on the one hand Pan seated, on the other Artemis standing. When you have entered you see the god, a beardless figure of gold and ivory made by Calamis.[2] He holds a staff in one hand,

[1] Flourished first half of fourth century B.C.
[2] A famous early fifth-century sculptor.

δὲ καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑτέρας χειρὸς πίτυος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου. φασὶ δέ σφισιν ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου κομισθῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ ζεύγους ἡμιόνων δράκοντι εἰκασμένον, τὴν δὲ ἀγαγοῦσαν Νικαγόραν εἶναι Σικυωνίαν Ἀγασικλέους μητέρα, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἐχετίμου. ἐνταῦθα ἀγάλματά ἐστιν οὐ μεγάλα ἀπηρτημένα τοῦ ὀρόφου· τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δράκοντι Ἀριστοδάμαν Ἀρίτου μητέρα εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ Ἄρατον Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα εἶναι νομίζουσιν.

4 Οὗτος μὲν δὴ παρείχετο ὁ περίβολος τοσάδε ἐς μνήμην, πέραν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλος ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερός· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀντιόπης· εἶναι γὰρ οἱ τοὺς παῖδας Σικυωνίους καὶ δι' ἐκείνους ἐθέλουσι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀντιόπην προσήκειν σφίσι. μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ἐσίασι μὲν δὴ ἐς αὐτὸ γυνή τε νεωκόρος, ᾗ μηκέτι θέμις παρ' ἄνδρα φοιτῆσαι, καὶ παρθένος ἱερωσύνην ἐπέτειον ἔχουσα· λουτροφόρον τὴν παρθένον ὀνομάζουσι· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις καθέστηκεν [1] ὁρᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου
5 τὴν θεὸν καὶ αὐτόθεν προσεύχεσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον Κάναχος Σικυώνιος ἐποίησεν, ὃς καὶ τὸν ἐν Διδύμοις τοῖς Μιλησίων καὶ Θηβαίοις τὸν Ἰσμήνιον εἰργάσατο Ἀπόλλωνα· πεποίηται δὲ ἔκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πόλον, τῶν χειρῶν δὲ ἔχει τῇ μὲν μήκωνα τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ μῆλον. τῶν δὲ ἱερείων τοὺς μηροὺς θύουσι πλὴν ὑῶν, τἄλλα δὲ ἀρκεύθου ξύλοις καθαγίζουσι, καιομένοις δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς μηροῖς φύλλον τοῦ παιδέρωτος συγκαθαγίζουσιν.

[1] καθέστηκεν (for κατὰ ταὐτὰ καί) Schubart.

and a cone of the cultivated pine in the other. The Sicyonians say that the god was carried to them from Epidaurus on a carriage drawn by two mules, that he was in the likeness of a serpent, and that he was brought by Nicagora of Sicyon, the mother of Agasicles and the wife of Echetimus. Here are small figures hanging from the roof. She who is on the serpent they say is Aristodama, the mother of Aratus, whom they hold to be a son of Asclepius.

Such are the noteworthy things that this enclosure presented to me, and opposite is another enclosure, sacred to Aphrodite. The first thing inside is a statue of Antiope. They say that her sons were Sicyonians, and because of them the Sicyonians will have it that Antiope herself is related to themselves. After this is the sanctuary of Aphrodite, into which enter only a female verger, who after her appointment may not have intercourse with a man, and a virgin, called the Bath-bearer, holding her sacred office for a year. All others are wont to behold the goddess from the entrance, and to pray from that place. The image, which is seated, was made by the Sicyonian Canachus, who also fashioned the Apollo at Didyma of the Milesians, and the Ismenian Apollo for the Thebans. It is made of gold and ivory, having on its head a *polos*,[1] and carrying in one hand a poppy and in the other an apple. They offer the thighs of the victims, excepting pigs; the other parts they burn for the goddess with juniper wood, but as the thighs are burning they add to the offering a leaf of the *paideros*.

[1] A curiously shaped head-gear.

6 ἔνεστι δὲ ὁ παιδέρως ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ περιβόλου πόα, φύεται δὲ ἀλλαχόθι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς, οὔτε ἄλλης οὔτε τῆς Σικυωνίας. τὰ δέ οἱ φύλλα ἐλάσσονα ἢ φηγοῦ, μείζονα δὲ ἐστιν ἢ πρίνου, σχῆμα δέ σφισιν οἷον τοῖς τῆς δρυός· καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπομελαίνει, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λευκόν ἐστι· φύλλοις δ' ἂν λεύκης μάλιστα εἰκάζοις τὴν χροιάν.

7 Ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ ἀνιοῦσιν ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Φεραίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος· κομισθῆναι δὲ τὸ ξόανον λέγουσιν ἐκ Φερῶν. τὸ δέ σφισι γυμνάσιον τοῦτο Κλεινίας ᾠκοδόμησε, καὶ παιδεύουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἔτι τοὺς ἐφήβους. κεῖται δὲ λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ Ἄρτεμις τὰ ἐς ἰξὺν μόνον εἰργασμένη καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τὰ κάτω τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς τοῖς τετραγώνοις εἰκασμένος.

XI. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀποτραπεῖσιν ἐπὶ πύλην καλουμένην Ἱεράν, οὐ πόρρω τῆς πύλης ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃν Ἔπωπεύς ποτε ἀνέθηκε μεγέθει καὶ κόσμῳ τοὺς τότε ὑπερβεβλημένον. ἔδει δὲ ἄρα χρόνῳ καὶ τοῦδε ἀφανισθῆναι τὴν μνήμην· κεραυνοῖς θεὸς αὐτὸν κατέκαυσε, βωμὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνος — οὐ γάρ τι ἐς αὐτὸν κατέσκηψε — μένει καὶ ἐς τόδε οἷον Ἔπωπεὺς ἐποίησε. πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ μνῆμα Ἔπωπεῖ κέχωσται, καὶ τοῦ τάφου πλησίον εἰσὶν Ἀποτρόπαιοι θεοί· παρὰ τούτοις δρῶσιν ὅσα Ἕλληνες ἐς ἀποτροπὴν κακῶν νομίζουσιν. Ἔπωπέα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸ Ἥρας Ἄδραστον· ἀγάλματα δὲ ὑπελείπετο οὐδετέρῳ. βωμοὺς δὲ ὄπισθεν τοῦ Ἡραίου τὸν μὲν Πανὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν, Ἡλίῳ δὲ
2 λίθου λευκοῦ. καταβαίνουσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον,

This is a plant in the open parts of the enclosure, and it grows nowhere else either in Sicyonia or in any other land. Its leaves are smaller than those of the esculent oak, but larger than those of the holm; the shape is similar to that of the oak-leaf. One side is of a dark colour, the other is white. You might best compare the colour to that of white-poplar leaves.

Ascending from here to the gymnasium you see on the right a sanctuary of Artemis Pheraea. It is said that the wooden image was brought from Pherae. This gymnasium was built for the Sicyonians by Cleinias, and they still train the youths here. White marble images are here, an Artemis wrought only to the waist, and a Heracles whose lower parts are similar to the square Hermae.

XI. Turning away from here towards the gate called Holy you see, not far from the gate, a temple of Athena. Dedicated long ago by Epopeus, it surpassed all its contemporaries in size and splendour. Yet the memory of even this was doomed to perish through lapse of time—it was burnt down by lightning—but the altar there, which escaped injury, remains down to the present day as Epopeus made it. Before the altar a barrow has been raised for Epopeus himself, and near the grave are the gods Averters of evil. Near them the Greeks perform such rites as they are wont to do in order to avert misfortunes. They say that the neighbouring sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo was also made by Epopeus, and that of Hera after it by Adrastus. I found no images remaining in either. Behind the sanctuary of Hera he built an altar to Pan, and one to Helius (*Sun*) made of white marble. On the way down to the plain is a

ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος· ἱδρῦσαι δέ φασιν αὐτὸ Πλημναῖον ἀποδιδόντα χάριν τῇ θεῷ τοῦ παιδὸς τῆς τροφῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἥρας, ἣν ἱδρύσατο Ἄδραστος, ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω Καρνείου ναός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος· κίονες δὲ ἑστήκασιν ἐν αὐτῷ μόνοι, τοίχους δὲ οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ὄροφον οὔτε ἐνταῦθα εὑρήσεις οὔτε ἐν τῷ τῆς Προδρομίας Ἥρας. τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ Φάλκης ἱδρύσατο ὁ Τημένου, τῆς ὁδοῦ οἱ τῆς ἐς Σικυῶνα Ἥραν φάμενος ὁδηγὸν γενέσθαι.

3 Ἐκ Σικυῶνος δὲ τὴν κατ' εὐθὺ ἐς Φλιοῦντα ἐρχομένοις καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέκα μάλιστα ἐκτραπεῖσι στάδια, Πυραία καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἄλσος, ἱερὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Προστασίας Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. ἐνταῦθα ἐφ' αὑτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι, τὸν δὲ Νυμφῶνα καλούμενον ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἑορτάζειν παρείκασι· καὶ ἀγάλματα Διονύσου καὶ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης τὰ πρόσωπα φαίνοντα ἐν τῷ Νυμφῶνί ἐστιν. ἡ δὲ ἐς Τιτάνην ὁδὸς σταδίων μέν ἐστιν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ζεύγεσιν ἄβατος
4 διὰ στενότητα· σταδίους δὲ προελθοῦσιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν εἴκοσι καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διαβᾶσι τὸν Ἀσωπόν, ἔστιν ἄλσος πρίνων καὶ ναὸς θεῶν ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς, Σικυώνιοι δὲ Εὐμενίδας ὀνομάζουσι· κατὰ δὲ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἑορτὴν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ σφισιν ἄγουσι θύοντες πρόβατα ἐγκύμονα, μελικράτῳ δὲ σπονδῇ καὶ ἄνθεσιν ἀντὶ στεφάνων χρῆσθαι νομίζουσιν. ἐοικότα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῶν Μοιρῶν δρῶσιν· ὁ δέ σφισιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ
5 ἄλσους ἐστίν. ἀναστρέψασι δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν διαβᾶσί τε αὖθις τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἐς κορυφὴν ὄρους ἥξασιν, ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Τιτᾶνα

sanctuary of Demeter, said to have been founded by Plemnaeüs as a thank-offering to the goddess for the rearing of his son. A little farther away from the sanctuary of Hera founded by Adrastus is a temple of the Carnean Apollo. Only the pillars are standing in it; you will no longer find there walls or roof, nor yet in that of Hera Pioneer. This temple was founded by Phalces, son of Temenus, who asserted that Hera guided him on the road to Sicyon.

On the direct road from Sicyon to Phlius, on the left of the road and just about ten stades from it, is a grove called Pyraea, and in it a sanctuary of Hera Protectress and the Maid. Here the men celebrate a festival by themselves, giving up to the women the temple called Nymphon for the purposes of their festival. In the Nymphon are images of Dionysus, Demeter, and the Maid, with only their faces exposed. The road to Titane is sixty stades long, and too narrow to be used by carriages drawn by a yoke. At a distance along it, in my opinion, of twenty stades, to the left on the other side of the Asopus, is a grove of holm oaks and a temple of the goddesses named by the Athenians the August, and by the Sicyonians the Kindly Ones. On one day in each year they celebrate a festival to them and offer sheep big with young as a burnt offering, and they are accustomed to use a libation of honey and water, and flowers instead of garlands. They practise similar rites at the altar of the Fates; it is in an open space in the grove. On turning back to the road, and having crossed the Asopus again and reached the summit of the hill, you come to the place where the natives say that Titan first

οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡλίου καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου κληθῆναι Τιτάνην τὸ χωρίον. δοκεῖν δὲ ἐμοὶ δεινὸς ἐγένετο ὁ Τιτὰν τὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους φυλάξας καὶ ὁπότε ἥλιος σπέρματα καὶ δένδρων αὔξει καὶ πεπαίνει καρπούς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀδελφὸς ἐνομίσθη τοῦ Ἡλίου. ὕστερον δὲ Ἀλεξάνωρ ὁ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παραγενόμενος ἐς Σικυωνίαν ἐν Τιτάνῃ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον
6 ἐποίησε. περιοικοῦσι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ τὸ πολὺ οἰκέται τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ κυπαρίσσων ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου δένδρα ἀρχαῖα· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὔτε ὁποίου ξύλου γέγονεν ἢ μετάλλου μαθεῖν ἔστιν οὔτε τὸν ποιήσαντα ἴσασι, πλὴν εἰ μή τις ἄρα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνορα ἀναφέροι. φαίνεται δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος πρόσωπον μόνον καὶ ἄκραι χεῖρες καὶ πόδες· χιτὼν γάρ οἱ λευκὸς ἐρεοῦς καὶ ἱμάτιον ἐπιβέβληται. καὶ Ὑγείας δ' ἔστι κατὰ ταὐτὸν ἄγαλμα· οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἴδοις ῥᾳδίως, οὕτω περιέχουσιν αὐτὸ κόμαι τε γυναικῶν αἳ κείρονται τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἐσθῆτος Βαβυλωνίας τελαμῶνες. ᾧ δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα τούτων ἱλάσασθαι θελήσῃ τις, ἀποδέδεικταί οἱ τὸ αὐτό, σέβεσθαι
7 τοῦτο ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὑγείαν καλοῦσι.[1] τῷ δὲ Ἀλεξάνορι καὶ Εὐαμερίωνι — καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἀγάλματά ἐστι — τῷ μὲν ὡς ἥρωι μετὰ ἥλιον δύναντα ἐναγίζουσιν, Εὐαμερίωνι δὲ ὡς θεῷ θύουσιν. εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς εἰκάζω, τὸν Εὐαμερίωνα τοῦτον Περγαμηνοὶ Τελεσφόρον ἐκ μαντεύματος, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ Ἄκεσιν ὀνομάζουσι. τῆς δὲ Κορωνίδος ἔστι μὲν καὶ ταύτης ξόανον, καθίδρυται

[1] The reading and translation are both uncertain. I have tried to make sense by putting a comma at αὐτό.

dwelt. They add that he was the brother of Helius (*Sun*), and that after him the place got the name Titane. My own view is that he proved clever at observing the seasons of the year and the times when the sun increases and ripens seeds and fruits, and for this reason was held to be the brother of Helius. Afterwards Alexanor, the son of Machaon, the son of Asclepius, came to Sicyonia and built the sanctuary of Asclepius at Titane. The neighbours are chiefly servants of the god, and within the enclosure are old cypress trees. One cannot learn of what wood or metal the image is, nor do they know the name of the maker, though one or two attribute it to Alexanor himself. Of the image can be seen only the face, hands, and feet, for it has about it a tunic of white wool and a cloak. There is a similar image of Health; this, too, one cannot see easily because it is so surrounded with the locks of women, who cut them off and offer them to the goddess, and with strips of Babylonian raiment. With whichever of these a votary here is willing to propitiate heaven, the same instructions have been given to him, to worship this image which they are pleased to call Health. There are images also of Alexanor and of Euamerion; to the former they give offerings as to a hero after the setting of the sun; to Euamerion, as being a god, they give burnt sacrifices. If I conjecture aright, the Pergamenes, in accordance with an oracle, call this Euamerion Telesphorus (*Accomplisher*), while the Epidaurians call him Acesis (*Cure*). There is also a wooden image of Coronis, but it has no fixed

δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τοῦ ναοῦ· θυομένων δὲ τῷ θεῷ ταύρου καὶ ἀρνὸς καὶ ὑὸς ἐς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τὴν Κορωνίδα μετενεγκόντες ἐνταῦθα τιμῶσιν. ὁπόσα δὲ τῶν θυομένων καθαγίζουσιν, οὐδὲ ἀποχρᾷ σφισιν ἐκτέμνειν τοὺς μηρούς· χαμαὶ δὲ καίουσι πλὴν
8 τοὺς ὄρνιθας, τούτους δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ. τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Νῖκαι πρὸς τοῖς πέρασίν εἰσιν. ἀνάκειται δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ στοᾷ Διονύσου καὶ Ἑκάτης, Ἀφροδίτη τε καὶ Μήτηρ θεῶν καὶ Τύχη· ταῦτα μὲν ξόανα, λίθου δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐπίκλησιν Γορτύνιος. παρὰ δὲ τοὺς δράκοντας ἐστίαι τοὺς ἱεροὺς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ὑπὸ δείματος· καταθέντες δέ σφισι πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τροφὴν οὐκέτι πολυπραγμονοῦσι. κεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς ἀνὴρ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου Γρανιανὸς Σικυώνιος, ὃς νίκας ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπίασι δύο μὲν πεντάθλου καὶ σταδίου τὴν τρίτην, διαύλου δὲ ἀμφότερα καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος.

XII. Ἐν δὲ Τιτάνῃ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν ἐστιν, ἐς ὃ τὴν Κορωνίδα ἀνάγουσιν· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ξόανον Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον, κεραυνωθῆναι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐλέγετο· ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόφου καταβᾶσιν —ᾠκοδόμηται γὰρ ἐπὶ λόφῳ τὸ ἱερὸν— βωμός ἐστιν ἀνέμων, ἐφ' οὗ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ὁ ἱερεὺς μιᾷ νυκτὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος θύει. δρᾷ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀπόρρητα ἐς βόθρους τέσσαρας, ἡμερούμενος τῶν πνευμάτων τὸ ἄγριον, καὶ δὴ καὶ Μηδείας ὡς λέγουσιν ἐπῳδὰς ἐπᾴδει.

2 Ἐκ δὲ Τιτάνης ἐς Σικυῶνα ἀφικομένοις καὶ καταβαίνουσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ ναός ἐστιν Ἥρας οὐκ ἔχων ἔτι οὔτε ἄγαλμα οὔτε ὄροφον· τὸν δὲ ἀναθέντα Προῖτον εἶναι τὸν

position anywhere in the temple. While to the god are being sacrificed a bull, a lamb, and a pig, they remove Coronis to the sanctuary of Athena and honour her there. The parts of the victims which they offer as a burnt sacrifice, and they are not content with cutting out the thighs, they burn on the ground, except the birds, which they burn on the altar. In the gable at the ends are figures of Heracles and of Victories. In the portico are dedicated images of Dionysus and Hecate, with Aphrodite, the Mother of the gods, and Fortune. These are wooden, but Asclepius, surnamed Gortynian, is of stone. They are unwilling to enter among the sacred serpents through fear, but they place their food before the entrance and take no further trouble. Within the enclosure is a bronze statue of a Sicyonian named Granianus, who won the following victories at Olympia: the *pentathlon* [1] twice, the foot-race, the double-course foot-race twice, once without and once with the shield.

XII. In Titane there is also a sanctuary of Athena, into which they bring up the image of Coronis. In it is an old wooden figure of Athena, and I was told that it, too, was struck by lightning. The sanctuary is built upon a hill, at the bottom of which is an Altar of the Winds, and on it the priest sacrifices to the winds one night in every year. He also performs other secret rites at four pits, taming the fierceness of the blasts, and he is said to chant as well charms of Medea.

On reaching Sicyon from Titane, as you go down to the shore you see on the left of the road a temple of Hera having now neither image nor roof. They say

[1] See p. 157.

Ἄβαντός φασι. καταβᾶσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Σικυωνίων καλούμενον λιμένα καὶ τραπεῖσιν ἐπ' Ἀριστοναύτας τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Πελληνέων, ἔστιν ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν· προελθοῦσι δὲ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον Ἐλισσών τε καλούμενος ποταμὸς καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Σύθας ἐστίν, ἐκδιδόντες ἐς θάλασσαν.

3 Ἡ δὲ Φλιασία τῆς Σικυωνίων ἐστὶν ὅμορος· καὶ Τιτάνης μὲν τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχει μάλιστα ἡ πόλις, ἐκ Σικυῶνος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁδός ἐστιν εὐθεῖα. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Ἀρκάσι Φλιάσιοι προσήκουσιν οὐδέν, δηλοῖ τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἀρκάδων κατάλογον τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν Ἀρκάσι καὶ οὗτοι συγκατειλεγμένοι· ὡς δὲ Ἀργεῖοί τε ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὕστερον Δωριεῖς γεγόνασιν Ἡρακλειδῶν κατελθόντων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, φανεῖται προϊόντι ὁμοῦ τῷ λόγῳ. διάφορα δὲ ἐς τοὺς Φλιασίους τὰ πολλὰ εἰδὼς εἰρημένα, τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὡμολογημένοις
4 χρήσομαι. ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γενέσθαι πρῶτον Ἄραντά φασιν ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα· καὶ πόλιν τε ᾤκισε περὶ τὸν βουνὸν τοῦτον, ὃς Ἀραντῖνος ἔτι καλεῖται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς, οὐ πολὺ ἑτέρου λόφου διεστηκώς, ἐφ' οὗ Φλιασίοις ἥ τε ἀκρόπολις καὶ τῆς Ἥβης ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερόν. ἐνταῦθά τε δὴ πόλιν ᾤκισε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ πόλις Ἀραντία ἐκλήθησαν. τούτῳ βασιλεύοντι Ἀσωπὸς Κηλούσης εἶναι λεγόμενος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἐξεῦρε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὄντινα οἱ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὑρόντος καλοῦσιν Ἀσωπόν. τὸ δὲ μνῆμα τοῦ Ἄραντός ἐστιν ἐν χωρίῳ Κελεαῖς, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Δυσαύλην ἄνδρα Ἐλευσίνιον τεθάφθαι λέ-

that its founder was Proetus, the son of Abas. When you have gone down to the harbour called the Sicyonians' and turned towards Aristonautae, the port of Pellene, you see a little above the road on the left hand a sanctuary of Poseidon. Farther along the highway is a river called the Helisson, and after it the Sythas, both emptying themselves into the sea.

Phliasia borders on Sicyonia. The city is just about forty stades distant from Titane, and there is a straight road to it from Sicyon. That the Phliasians are in no way related to the Arcadians is shown by the passage in Homer that deals with the list of the Arcadians, in which the Sicyonians are not included among the Arcadian confederates. As my narrative progresses it will become clear that they were Argive originally, and became Dorian later after the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus. I know that most of the traditions concerning the Phliasians are contradictory, but I shall make use of those which have been most generally accepted. They say that the first man in this land was Aras, who sprang from the soil. He founded a city around that hillock which even down to our day is called the Arantine Hill, not far distant from a second hill on which the Phliasians have their citadel and their sanctuary of Hebe. Here, then, he founded a city, and after him in ancient times both the land and the city were called Arantia. While he was king, Asopus, said to be the son of Celusa and Poseidon, discovered for him the water of the river which the present inhabitants call after him Asopus. The tomb of Aras is in the place called Celeae, where they say

γουσιν. Ἄραντος δὲ υἱὸς Ἄορις καὶ θυγάτηρ ἐγένετο Ἀραιθυρέα. τούτους φασὶ Φλιάσιοι θηρᾶσαί τε ἐμπείρους γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἀνδρείους. προαποθανούσης δὲ Ἀραιθυρέας Ἄορις ἐς μνήμην τῆς ἀδελφῆς μετωνόμασεν Ἀραιθυρέαν τὴν χώραν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Ὅμηρος τοὺς Ἀγαμέμνονος ὑπηκόους καταλέγων τὸ ἔπος ἐποίησεν

Ὀρνειάς τ' ἐνέμοντο Ἀραιθυρέην τ' ἐρατεινήν.

τάφους δὲ τῶν Ἄραντος παίδων οὐχ ἑτέρωθι ἡγοῦμαι τῆς χώρας, ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ δὲ εἶναι τῷ Ἀραντίνῳ· καί σφισιν ἐπίθημα στῆλαι περιφανεῖς εἰσι, καὶ πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς ἣν τῇ Δήμητρι ἄγουσιν Ἄραντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς ταῦτα βλέποντες τὰ μνήματα.

6 Φλίαντα δέ, ὃς τρίτον τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ὄνομα ἀφ' αὑτοῦ τῇ γῇ, Κείσου μὲν παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Τημένου κατὰ δὴ τὸν Ἀργείων λόγον οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἔγωγε προσίεμαι, Διονύσου δὲ οἶδα καλούμενον καὶ τῶν πλευσάντων ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι λεγόμενον. ὁμολογεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδίου ποιητοῦ τὰ ἔπη·

Φλίας αὖτ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν Ἀραιθυρέηθεν ἵκανεν,
ἔνθ' ἀφνειὸς ἔναιε Διωνύσοιο ἑκηβόλου
πατρὸς ἑοῦ, πηγῇσιν ἐφέστιος Ἀσωποῖο.

τοῦ δὲ Φλίαντος Ἀραιθυρέαν εἶναι μητέρα, ἀλλ' οὐ Χθονοφύλην· Χθονοφύλην δέ οἱ συνοικῆσαι καὶ Ἀνδροδάμαν γενέσθαι Φλίαντι ἐξ αὐτῆς.

is also buried Dysaules of Eleusis. Aras had a son Aoris and a daughter Araethyrea, who, the Phliasians say, were experienced hunters and brave warriors. Araethyrea died first, and Aoris, in memory of his sister, changed the name of the land to Araethyrea. This is why Homer,[1] in making a list of Agamemnon's subjects, has the verse:—

"Orneae was their home and Araethyrea the delightful."

The graves of the children of Aras are, in my opinion, on the Arantine Hill and not in any other part of the land. On the top of them are far-seen gravestones, and before the celebration of the mysteries of Demeter the people look at these tombs and call Aras and his children to the libations. The Argives say that Phlias, who has given the land its third name, was the son of Ceisus, the son of Temenus. This account I can by no means accept, but I know that he is called a son of Dionysus, and that he is said to have been one of those who sailed on the Argo. The verses of the Rhodian poet[2] confirm me in my opinion:—

"Came after these Phlias from Araethyrea to the muster;
Here did he dwell and prosper, because Dionysus his father
Cared for him well, and his home was near to the springs of Asopus."

The account goes on to say that the mother of Phlias was Araethyrea and not Chthonophyle. The latter was his wife and bore him Androdamas.

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 571.
[2] Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, i. 115–117.

XIII. Ἡρακλειδῶν δὲ κατελθόντων Πελοπόννησος ἐταράχθη πᾶσα πλὴν Ἀρκάδων, ὡς πολλὰς μὲν τῶν πόλεων συνοίκους ἐκ τοῦ Δωρικοῦ προσλαβεῖν, πλείονας δὲ ἔτι γενέσθαι τὰς μεταβολὰς τοῖς οἰκήτορσι. τὰ δὲ κατὰ Φλιοῦντα οὕτως ἔχει. Ῥηγνίδας ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁ Φάλκου τοῦ Τημένου Δωριεὺς ἔκ τε Ἄργους στρατεύει καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σικυωνίας. τῶν δὲ Φλιασίων τοῖς μὲν ἃ προεκαλεῖτο Ῥηγνίδας ἐφαίνετο ἀρεστά, μένοντας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὑτῶν βασιλέα Ῥηγνίδαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν
2 ἐκείνῳ Δωριεῖς ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῷ γῆς δέχεσθαι· Ἵππασος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διεκελεύοντο ἀμύνεσθαι μηδὲ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀμαχεὶ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἀφίστασθαι. προσεμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην, οὕτως Ἵππασος σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐς Σάμον φεύγει. Ἱππάσου δὲ τούτου τέταρτος ἦν ἀπόγονος Πυθαγόρας ὁ λεγόμενος γενέσθαι σοφός· Μνησάρχου γὰρ Πυθαγόρας ἦν τοῦ Εὔφρονος τοῦ Ἱππάσου. ταῦτα μὲν Φλιάσιοι λέγουσι περὶ αὑτῶν, ὁμολογοῦσι δέ σφισι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ Σικυώνιοι.

3 Προσέσται δὲ ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἡκόντων τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα. ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Φλιασίων ἀκροπόλει κυπαρίσσων ἄλσος καὶ ἱερὸν ἁγιώτατον ἐκ παλαιοῦ· τὴν δὲ θεὸν ἧς ἐστι τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιότατοι Φλιασίων Γανυμήδαν, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Ἥβην ὀνομάζουσιν· ἧς καὶ Ὅμηρος μνήμην ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῇ Μενελάου πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον μονομαχίᾳ φάμενος οἰνοχόον τῶν θεῶν

XIII. On the return of the Heracleidae disturbances took place throughout the whole of the Peloponnesus except Arcadia, so that many of the cities received additional settlers from the Dorian race, and their inhabitants suffered yet more revolutions. The history of Phlius is as follows. The Dorian Rhegnidas, the son of Phalces, the son of Temenus, attacked it from Argos and Sicyonia. Some of the Phliasians were inclined to accept the offer of Rhegnidas, which was that they should remain on their own estates and receive Rhegnidas as their king, giving the Dorians with him a share in the land. Hippasus and his party, on the other hand, urged the citizens to defend themselves, and not to give up many advantages to the Dorians without striking a blow. The people, however, accepted the opposite policy, and so Hippasus and any others who wished fled to Samos. Great-grandson of this Hippasus was Pythagoras,[1] the celebrated sage. For Pythagoras was the son of Mnesarchus, the son of Euphranor, the son of Hippasus. This is the account the Phliasians give about themselves, and the Sicyonians in general agree with them.

I will now add an account of the most remarkable of their famous sights. On the Phliasian citadel is a grove of cypress trees and a sanctuary which from ancient times has been held to be peculiarly holy. The earliest Phliasians named the goddess to whom the sanctuary belongs Ganymeda; but later authorities call her Hebe, whom Homer[2] mentions in the duel between Menelaus and Alexander, saying that she was the cup-bearer of the gods; and again he

[1] The philosopher and mathematician. *Fl. c.* 527 B.C.
[2] *Iliad*, iv. 2 foll.

εἶναι, καὶ αὖθις ἐν Ὀδυσσέως ἐς Ἅιδου καθόδῳ γυναῖκα Ἡρακλέους εἶπεν εἶναι. Ὠλῆνι δὲ ἐν Ἥρας ἐστὶν ὕμνῳ πεποιημένα τραφῆναι τὴν Ἥραν ὑπὸ Ὡρῶν, εἶναι δέ οἱ παῖδας Ἄρηνα τε
4 καὶ Ἥβην. παρὰ δὲ Φλιασίοις τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλαι τιμαὶ καὶ μέγιστον τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐστί· δεδώκασι γὰρ δὴ ἄδειαν ἐνταῦθα ἱκετεύουσι, λυθέντες δὲ οἱ δεσμῶται τὰς πέδας πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει δένδρα ἀνατιθέασιν. ἄγεται δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴ σφισιν ἐπέτειος, ἣν καλοῦσι Κισσοτόμους. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὔτε ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάσσουσιν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐστὶν ἐν φανερῷ δεικνύμενον—ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὲ οὕτω νομίζουσιν, ἱερός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς λόγος—, ἐπεὶ τῆς γε Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἐξιόντων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναὸς
5 ἄγαλμα ἔχων Παρίου λίθου. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλος περίβολός ἐστιν ἱερὸς Δήμητρος, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός· τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος—ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐνταῦθα χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα—ἐφαίνετο ἀρχαῖον εἶναί μοι. κατιόντων δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεώς ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον πω γένεια. ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν θέατρον πεποίηται· τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ καθήμενα ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα.

6 Ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς αἴξ χαλκῆ, τὰ πολλὰ ἐπίχρυσος· παρὰ δὲ Φλιασίοις τιμὰς ἐπὶ τῷδε εἴληφε. τὸ ἄστρον ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν αἶγα ἀνατέλλουσα τὰς ἀμπέλους λυμαίνεται συνεχῶς· ἵνα δὲ ἄχαρι μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς γένηται, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς χαλκῆν αἶγα ἄλλοις τε τιμῶσι καὶ χρυσῷ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπικοσμοῦντες. ἐνταῦθά

says, in the descent of Odysseus to Hell,[1] that she was the wife of Heracles. Olen,[2] in his hymn to Hera, says that Hera was reared by the Seasons, and that her children were Ares and Hebe. Of the honours that the Phliasians pay to this goddess the greatest is the pardoning of suppliants. All those who seek sanctuary here receive full forgiveness, and prisoners, when set free, dedicate their fetters on the trees in the grove. The Phliasians also celebrate a yearly festival which they call Ivy-cutters. There is no image, either kept in secret or openly displayed, and the reason for this is set forth in a sacred legend of theirs; though on the left as you go out is a temple of Hera with an image of Parian marble. On the citadel is another enclosure, which is sacred to Demeter, and in it are a temple and statue of Demeter and her daughter. Here there is also a bronze statue of Artemis, which appeared to me to be ancient. As you go down from the citadel you see on the right a temple of Asclepius with an image of the god as a beardless youth. Below this temple is built a theatre. Not far from it is a sanctuary of Demeter and old, seated images.

On the market-place is a votive offering, a bronze she-goat for the most part covered with gold. The following is the reason why it has received honours among the Phliasians. The constellation which they call the Goat on its rising causes continual damage to the vines. In order that they may suffer nothing unpleasant from it, the Phliasians pay honours to the bronze goat on the market-place and adorn the image

[1] *Odyssey*, xi. 603.
[2] A mythical poet of Greece, associated with Apollo.

ἐστι καὶ Ἀριστίου μνῆμα τοῦ Πρατίνου· τούτῳ τῷ Ἀριστίᾳ σάτυροι καὶ Πρατίνᾳ τῷ πατρὶ εἰσι πεποιημένοι πλὴν τῶν Αἰσχύλου δοκιμώτατοι.

7 ὄπισθεν δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστιν οἶκος ὀνομαζόμενος ὑπὸ Φλιασίων μαντικός. ἐς τοῦτον Ἀμφιάραος ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἐγκατακοιμηθεὶς μαντεύεσθαι τότε πρῶτον, ὡς οἱ Φλιάσιοι φασιν, ἤρξατο· τέως δὲ ἦν Ἀμφιάραος τῷ ἐκείνων λύγῳ ἰδιώτης τε καὶ οὐ μάντις. καὶ τὸ οἴκημα ἀπὸ τούτου συγκέκλεισται τὸν πάντα ἤδη χρόνον. οὐ πόρρω δέ ἐστιν ὁ καλούμενος Ὀμφαλός, Πελοποννήσου δὲ πάσης μέσον, εἰ δὴ τὰ ὄντα εἰρήκασιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ὀμφαλοῦ προελθοῦσι Διονύσου σφίσιν ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἄλλο Ἴσιδος. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διονύσου δῆλον πᾶσιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἴσιδος τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θεάσασθαι μόνον

8 ἔστι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὧδε ὑπὸ Φλιασίων λόγος· Ἡρακλέα, ὅτ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἀνεσώθη κομίζων τὰ μῆλα τὰ Ἑσπερίδων καλούμενα, ἐς Φλιοῦντα ἐλθεῖν κατὰ δή τι ἴδιον, διαιτωμένου δὲ ἐνταῦθα Οἰνέα ἐξ Αἰτωλίας ἀφικέσθαι παρ' αὐτόν· ἐγεγόνει δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ πρότερον ἔτι κηδεστής, τότε δὲ ἀφιγμένος εἱστία τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἡ αὐτὸς εἱστιᾶτο ὑπὸ ἐκείνου. Κύαθον δ' οὖν παῖδα οἰνοχόον Οἰνέως οὐκ ἀρεσθεὶς τῷ δοθέντι πώματι παίει τῶν δακτύλων ἑνὶ ἐς τὴν κεφαλήν· ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς Φλιασίοις ἐστὶν οἴκημα ἐς μνήμην. τοῦτο ᾠκοδόμηται μὲν παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀγάλματα δὲ λίθου πεποιημένα ἔχει, κύλικα ὀρέγοντα Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν Κύαθον.

with gold. Here also is the tomb of Aristias, the son of Pratinas. This Aristias and his father Pratinas composed satyric plays more popular than any save those of Aeschylus. Behind the market-place is a building which the Phliasians name the House of Divination. Into it Amphiaraus entered, slept the night there, and then first, say the Phliasians, began to divine. According to their account Amphiaraus was for a time an ordinary person and no diviner. Ever since that time the building has been shut up. Not far away is what is called the Omphalos (*Navel*), the centre of all the Peloponnesus, if they speak the truth about it. Farther on from the Omphalos they have an old sanctuary of Dionysus, a sanctuary of Apollo, and one of Isis. The image of Dionysus is visible to all, and so also is that of Apollo, but the image of Isis only the priests may behold. The Phliasians tell also the following legend. When Heracles came back safe from Libya, bringing the apples of the Hesperides, as they were called, he visited Phlius on some private matter. While he was staying there Oeneus came to him from Aetolia. He had already allied himself to the family of Heracles, and after his arrival on this occasion either he entertained Heracles or Heracles entertained him. Be this as it may, displeased with the drink given him Heracles struck on the head with one of his fingers the boy Cyathus, the cup-bearer of Oeneus, who died on the spot from the blow. A chapel keeps the memory of the deed fresh among the Phliasians; it is built by the side of the sanctuary of Apollo, and it contains statues made of stone representing Cyathus holding out a cup to Heracles.

fl. c. 500 B.C.

XIV. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως αἱ Κελεαὶ πέντε που σταδίους μάλιστα ἀπέχουσι, καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι ἐνταῦθα δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ τετάρτου τὴν τελετὴν καὶ οὐ κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν. ἱεροφάντης δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὸν βίον πάντα ἀποδέδεικται, κατὰ δὲ ἑκάστην τελετὴν ἄλλοτέ ἐστιν ἄλλος σφίσιν αἱρετός, λαμβάνων ἢν ἐθέλῃ καὶ γυναῖκα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν διάφορα τῶν Ἐλευσῖνι νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τελετὴν ἐκείνων ἐστὶν ἐς μίμησιν· ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μιμεῖσθαι Φλιάσιοι τὰ ἐν
2 Ἐλευσῖνι δρώμενα. Δυσαύλην δέ φασιν ἀδελφὸν Κελεοῦ παραγενόμενον σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετήν, ἐκβληθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος ὑπὸ Ἴωνος, ὅτε Ἴων Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Ξούθου πολέμαρχος τοῦ πρὸς Ἐλευσινίους ἠρέθη πολέμου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Φλιασίοις οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ὁμολογήσω, κρατηθέντα μάχῃ τινὰ Ἐλευσινίων φυγάδα ἀπελαθέντα οἴχεσθαι, τοῦ πολέμου τε ἐπὶ συνθήκαις καταλυθέντος πρὶν ἢ διαπολεμηθῆναι καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι αὐτοῦ καταμείναντος
3 Εὐμόλπου. δύναιτο δ' ἂν κατὰ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δυσαύλης ἀφικέσθαι πρόφασιν καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ Φλιάσιοί φασιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Κελεῷ προσήκων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν Ἐλευσινίων· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε Ὅμηρος παρῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐς Δήμητραν· ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καταλέγων τοὺς διδαχθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν τελετὴν Δυσαύλην οὐδένα οἶδεν Ἐλευσίνιον. ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὰ ἔπη·

δεῖξεν Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίππῳ
Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ Κελεῷ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν
δρησμοσύνην ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσιν.

XIV. Celeae is some five stades distant from the city, and here they celebrate the mysteries in honour of Demeter, not every year but every fourth year. The initiating priest is not appointed for life, but at each celebration they elect a fresh one, who takes, if he cares to do so, a wife. In this respect their custom differs from that at Eleusis, but the actual celebration is modelled on the Eleusinian rites. The Phliasians themselves admit that they copy the "performance" at Eleusis. They say that it was Dysaules, the brother of Celeüs, who came to their land and established the mysteries, and that he had been expelled from Eleusis by Ion, when Ion, the son of Xuthus, was chosen by the Athenians to be commander-in-chief in the Eleusinian war. Now I cannot possibly agree with the Phliasians in supposing that an Eleusinian was conquered in battle and driven away into exile, for the war terminated in a treaty before it was fought out, and Eumolpus himself remained at Eleusis. But it is possible that Dysaules came to Phlius for some other reason than that given by the Phliasians. I do not believe either that he was related to Celeüs, or that he was in any way distinguished at Eleusis, otherwise Homer would never have passed him by in his poems. For Homer is one of those who have written in honour of Demeter, and when he is making a list of those to whom the goddess taught the mysteries he knows nothing of an Eleusinian named Dysaules. These are the verses[1]:—

"She to Triptolemus taught, and to Diocles, driver of horses,
Also to mighty Eumolpus, to Celeüs, leader of peoples,
Cult of the holy rites, to them all her mystery telling."

[1] *Hymn to Demeter*, 474–476.

4 οὗτος δ' οὖν, ὡς οἱ Φλιάσιοί φασιν, ὁ Δυσαύλης κατεστήσατο ἐνταῦθα τὴν τελετὴν καὶ οὗτος ἦν ὁ τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα παραθέμενος Κελεάς· Δυσαύλου τέ ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα, ὡς εἴρηταί μοι, μνῆμα. πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ἐπεποίητο ὁ Ἀράντειος τάφος· ὕστερον γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Φλιασίων λόγον καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄραντος βασιλείας ἀφίκετο ὁ Δυσαύλης. Φλιάσιοι γὰρ Προμηθεῖ γενέσθαι τῷ Ἰαπετοῦ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον φασὶν Ἄραντα καὶ τρισὶν ἀνθρώπων γενεαῖς Πελασγοῦ τε εἶναι πρεσβύτερον τοῦ Ἀρκάδος καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Ἀθήνησιν αὐτοχθόνων.—τοῦ δὲ Αἰακτόρου καλουμένου πρὸς τῷ ὀρόφῳ Πέλοπος ἅρμα λέγουσιν ἀνακεῖσθαι.

XV. Φλιασίοις μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα λόγου μάλιστα ἦν ἄξια· ἐκ Κορίνθου δ' ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένῳ Κλεωναὶ πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη. παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Πέλοπος Κλεώνην λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ τῷ παρὰ Σικυῶνα ῥέοντι Ἀσωπῷ θυγατέρα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις Κλεώνην γενέσθαι· τὸ δ' οὖν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου τούτων ἐτέθη τῇ πόλει. ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Σκύλλιδος τέχνη καὶ Διποίνου· μαθητὰς δὲ εἶναι Δαιδάλου σφᾶς, οἱ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα ἐκ Γόρτυνος ἐθέλουσι λαβεῖν Δαίδαλον καὶ τὸν Δίποινον καὶ Σκύλλιν ἐκ τῆς γυναικός οἱ ταύτης γενέσθαι. ἐν Κλεωναῖς δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ μνῆμα Εὐρύτου καὶ Κτεάτου· θεωροὺς γὰρ ἐξ Ἤλιδος ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἰόντας τῶν Ἰσθμίων αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλῆς κατετόξευσεν, ἔγκλημα ποιούμενος ὅτι οἱ πρὸς Λυγείαν πολεμοῦντι ἀντετάχθησαν.

2 Ἐκ Κλεωνῶν δέ εἰσιν ἐς Ἄργος ὁδοὶ δύο, ἡ

At all events, this Dysaules, according to the Phliasians, established the mysteries here, and he it was who gave to the place the name Celeae. I have already said that the tomb of Dysaules is here. So the grave of Aras was made earlier, for according to the account of the Phliasians Dysaules did not arrive in the reign of Aras, but later. For Aras, they say, was a contemporary of Prometheus, the son of Iapetus, and three generations of men older than Pelasgus the son of Arcas and those called at Athens aboriginals. On the roof of what is called the Anactorum they say is dedicated the chariot of Pelops.

XV. These are the things that I found most worthy of mention among the Phliasians. On the road from Corinth to Argos is a small city Cleonae. They say that Cleones was a son of Pelops, though there are some who say that Cleone was one of the daughters of Asopus, that flows by the side of Sicyon. Be this as it may, one or other of these two accounts for the name of the city. Here there is a sanctuary of Athena, and the image is a work of Scyllis and Dipoenus. Some hold them to have been the pupils of Daedalus, but others will have it that Daedalus took a wife from Gortyn, and that Dipoenus and Scyllis were his sons by this woman. Cleonae possesses this sanctuary and the tomb of Eurytus and Cteatus. The story is that as they were going as ambassadors from Elis to the Isthmian contest they were here shot by Heracles, who charged them with being his adversaries in the war against Augeas. *fl.* sixth cent. B.C.

From Cleonae to Argos are two roads; one is direct

μὲν ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίτομος, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Τρητοῦ, στενὴ μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ περιεχόντων ὀρῶν, ὀχήμασι δὲ ἔστιν ὅμως ἐπιτηδειότερα. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὄρεσι τὸ σπήλαιον ἔτι δείκνυται τοῦ λέοντος, καὶ ἡ Νεμέα τὸ χωρίον ἀπέχει στάδιους πέντε που καὶ δέκα. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ Νεμείου Διὸς ναός ἐστι θέας ἄξιος, πλὴν ὅσον κατερρύηκέ τε ὁ δροφὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο· κυπαρίσσων τε ἄλσος ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν ναόν, καὶ τὸν Ὀφέλτην ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῆς τροφοῦ τεθέντα ἐς τὴν πόαν διαφθαρῆναι λέ-
3 γουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος. θύουσι δὲ Ἀργεῖοι τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ καὶ Νεμείου Διὸς ἱερέα αἱροῦνται, καὶ δὴ καὶ δρόμου προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα ἀνδράσιν ὡπλισμένοις Νεμείων πανηγύρει τῶν χειμερινῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν Ὀφέλτου τάφος, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν θριγκὸς λίθων καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου βωμοί· ἔστι δὲ χῶμα γῆς Λυκούργου μνῆμα τοῦ Ὀφέλτου πατρός. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν Ἀδράστειαν ὀνομάζουσιν εἴτε ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τινὶ αἰτίᾳ εἴτε καὶ ἀνεύρεντος αὐτὴν Ἀδράστου· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα λέγουσι τῇ χώρᾳ Νεμέαν δοῦναι θυγατέρα Ἀσωποῦ καὶ ταύτην. καὶ ὅρος Ἀπέσας ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν, ἔνθα Περσέα πρῶτον Διὶ θῦσαι
4 λέγουσιν Ἀπεσαντίῳ. ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Τρητὸν καὶ αὖθις τὴν ἐς Ἄργος ἰοῦσίν ἐστι Μυκηνῶν ἐρείπια ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Περσεὺς ἐγένετο Μυκηνῶν οἰκιστής, ἴσασιν Ἕλληνες· ἐγὼ δὲ αἰτίαν τε γράψω τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ καὶ δι' ἥντινα πρόφασιν Ἀργεῖοι Μυκηναίους ὕστερον ἀνέστησαν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ νῦν Ἀργολίδι ὀνομαζομένῃ τὰ μὲν ἔτι παλαιότερα οὐ μνημονεύουσιν, Ἴναχον

and only for active men, the other goes along the pass called Tretus (*Pierced*), is narrow like the other, being surrounded by mountains, but is nevertheless more suitable for carriages. In these mountains is still shown the cave of the famous lion, and the place Nemea is distant some fifteen stades. In Nemea is a noteworthy temple of Nemean Zeus, but I found that the roof had fallen in and that there was no longer remaining any image. Around the temple is a grove of cypress trees, and here it is, they say, that Opheltes was placed by his nurse in the grass and killed by the serpent. The Argives offer burnt sacrifices to Zeus in Nemea also, and elect a priest of Nemean Zeus; moreover they offer a prize for a race in armour at the winter celebration of the Nemean games. In this place is the grave of Opheltes; around it is a fence of stones, and within the enclosure are altars. There is also a mound of earth which is the tomb of Lycurgus, the father of Opheltes. The spring they call Adrastea for some reason or other, perhaps because Adrastus found it. The land was named, they say, after Nemea, who was another daughter of Asopus. Above Nemea is Mount Apesas, where they say that Perseus first sacrificed to Zeus of Apesas. Ascending to Tretus, and again going along the road to Argos, you see on the left the ruins of Mycenae. The Greeks are aware that the founder of Mycenae was Perseus, so I will narrate the cause of its foundation and the reason why the Argives afterwards laid Mycenae waste. The oldest tradition in the region now called Argolis

δὲ βασιλεύοντα τόν τε ποταμὸν ἀφ' αὑτοῦ λέγου-
5 σιν ὀνομάσαι καὶ θῦσαι τῇ Ἥρᾳ. λέγεται δὲ
καὶ ὧδε λόγος· Φορωνέα ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γενέσθαι
πρῶτον, Ἴναχον δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ τὸν ποταμὸν
πατέρα εἶναι Φορωνεῖ· τοῦτον δὲ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ
Ἥρᾳ δικάσαι περὶ τῆς χώρας, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ
Κηφισόν τε καὶ Ἀστερίωνα ποταμόν· κρινάντων
δὲ Ἥρας εἶναι τὴν γῆν, οὕτω σφίσιν ἀφανίσαι
τὸ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε Ἴναχος
ὕδωρ οὔτε ἄλλος παρέχεται τῶν εἰρημένων ποτα-
μῶν ὅτι μὴ ὕσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ· θέρους δὲ αὗά
σφισίν ἐστι τὰ ῥεύματα πλὴν τῶν ἐν Λέρνῃ.
Φορωνεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰνάχου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους συνήγαγε
πρῶτον ἐς κοινόν, σποράδας τέως καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν
ἑκάστοτε οἰκοῦντας· καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐς ὃ πρῶτον
ἠθροίσθησαν ἄστυ ὠνομάσθη Φορωνικόν.

XVI. Ἄργος δὲ Φορωνέως θυγατριδοῦς βασι-
λεύσας μετὰ Φορωνέα ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' αὑτοῦ τὴν
χώραν. Ἄργου δὲ Πείρασος γίνεται καὶ Φόρβας,
Φόρβαντος δὲ Τριόπας, Τριόπα δὲ Ἴασος καὶ
Ἀγήνωρ. Ἰὼ μὲν οὖν Ἰάσου θυγάτηρ, εἴτε ὡς
Ἡρόδοτος ἔγραψεν εἴτε καθ' ὃ λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες,
ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικνεῖται· Κρότωπος δὲ ὁ Ἀγή-
νορος ἔσχε μετὰ Ἴασον τὴν ἀρχήν, Κροτώπου δὲ
Σθενέλας γίνεται, Δαναὸς δ' ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πλεύ-
σας ἐπὶ Γελάνορα τὸν Σθενέλα τοὺς ἀπογόνους
τοὺς Ἀγήνορος βασιλείας ἔπαυσεν. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ
τούτου καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁμοίως ἴσασι, θυγατέρων
τῶν Δαναοῦ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς τόλμημα καὶ ὡς
ἀποθανόντος Δαναοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν Λυγκεὺς ἔσχεν.
2 οἱ δὲ Ἅβαντος τοῦ Λυγκέως παῖδες τὴν βασι-
λείαν ἐνείμαντο, καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέ-

is that when Inachus was king he named the river after himself and sacrificed to Hera. There is also another legend which says that Phoroneus was the first inhabitant of this land, and that Inachus, the father of Phoroneus, was not a man but the river. This river, with the rivers Cephisus and Asterion, judged concerning the land between Poseidon and Hera. They decided that the land belonged to Hera, and so Poseidon made their waters disappear. For this reason neither Inachus nor either of the other rivers I have mentioned provides any water except after rain. In summer their streams are dry except those at Lerna. Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, was the first to gather together the inhabitants, who up to that time had been scattered and living as isolated families. The place into which they were first gathered was named the City of Phoroneus.

XVI. Argus, the grandson of Phoroneus, succeeding to the throne after Phoroneus, gave his name to the land. Argus begat Peirasus and Phorbas, Phorbas begat Triopas, and Triopas begat Iasus and Agenor. Io, the daughter of Iasus, went to Egypt, whether the circumstances be as Herodotus records or as the Greeks say. After Iasus, Crotopus, the son of Agenor, came to the throne and begat Sthenelas, but Danaus sailed from Egypt against Gelanor, the son of Sthenelas, and stayed the succession to the kingdom of the descendants of Agenor. What followed is known to all alike: the crime the daughters of Danaus committed against their cousins, and how, on the death of Danaus, Lynceus succeeded him. But the sons of Abas, the son of Lynceus, divided the kingdom between themselves; Acrisius remained where

μεινεν ἐν τῷ Ἄργει, Προῖτος δὲ τὸ Ἡραῖον καὶ Μιδείαν καὶ Τίρυνθα ἔσχε καὶ ὅσα πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τῆς Ἀργείας· σημεῖά τε τῆς ἐν Τίρυνθι οἰκήσεως Προίτου καὶ ἐς τόδε λείπεται. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀκρίσιος Περσέα αὐτόν τε περιεῖναι πυνθανόμενος καὶ ἔργα ἀποδείκνυσθαι, ἐς Λάρισαν ἀπεχώρησε τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Πηνειῷ. Περσεὺς δὲ—ἰδεῖν γὰρ πάντως ἤθελε τὸν γονέα τῆς μητρὸς καὶ λόγοις τε χρηστοῖς καὶ ἔργοις δεξιώσασθαι—ἔρχεται παρ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Λάρισαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν οἷα ἡλικίᾳ τε ἀκμάζων καὶ τοῦ δίσκου χαίρων τῷ εὑρήματι ἐπεδείκνυτο ἐς ἅπαντας, Ἀκρίσιος δὲ λανθάνει κατὰ δαίμονα ὑποπεσὼν τοῦ δίσκου τῇ ὁρμῇ. 3 καὶ Ἀκρισίῳ μὲν ἡ πρόρρησις τοῦ θεοῦ τέλος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲ ἀπέτρεψέν οἱ τὸ χρεὼν τὰ ἐς τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὸν θυγατριδοῦν παρευρήματα· Περσεὺς δὲ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐς Ἄργος—ᾐσχύνετο γὰρ τοῦ φόνου τῇ φήμῃ—, Μεγαπένθην τὸν Προίτου πείθει οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιδοῦναι, παραλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐκείνου Μυκήνας κτίζει. τοῦ ξίφους γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐξέπεσεν ὁ μύκης αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐς οἰκισμὸν ἐνόμιζε συμβῆναι πόλεως. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς διψῶντι ἐπῆλθεν ἀνελέσθαι οἱ μύκητα ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ῥυέντος δὲ ὕδατος πιὼν καὶ ἡσθεὶς Μυκήνας ἔθετο τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ. 4 Ὅμηρος δὲ ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ γυναικὸς Μυκήνης ἐν ἔπει τῷδε ἐμνήσθη

Τυρώ τ' Ἀλκμήνη τε ἐυστέφανός τε Μυκήνη.

ταύτην εἶναι θυγατέρα Ἰνάχου γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀρέστορος τὰ ἔπη λέγει, ἃ δὴ Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν Ἠοίας μεγάλας· ἀπὸ ταύτης οὖν γεγονέναι καὶ

he was at Argos, and Proetus took over the Heraeum, Mideia, Tiryns, and the Argive coast region. Traces of the residence of Proetus in Tiryns remain to the present day. Afterwards Acrisius, learning that Perseus himself was not only alive but accomplishing great achievements, retired to Larisa on the Peneüs. And Perseus, wishing at all costs to see the father of his mother and to greet him with fair words and deeds, visited him at Larisa. Being in the prime of life and proud of his inventing the quoit, he gave displays before all, and Acrisius, as luck would have it, stepped unnoticed into the path of the quoit. So the prediction of the god to Acrisius found its fulfilment, nor was his fate prevented by his precautions against his daughter and grandson. Perseus, ashamed because of the gossip about the homicide, on his return to Argos induced Megapenthes, the son of Proetus, to make an exchange of kingdoms; taking over himself that of Megapenthes, he founded Mycenae. For on its site the cap (*myces*) fell from his scabbard, and he regarded this as a sign to found a city. I have also heard the following account. He was thirsty, and the thought occurred to him to pick up a mushroom (*myces*) from the ground. Drinking with joy water that flowed from it, he gave to the place the name of Mycenae. Homer in the *Odyssey* mentions a woman Mycene in the following verse:—

"Tyro and Alcmene and the fair-crowned lady Mycene."

She is said to have been the daughter of Inachus and the wife of Arestor in the poem which the Greeks call the *Great Eoeae*. So they say that this

τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει φασίν. ὃν δὲ προσποιοῦσιν
'Ακουσιλάῳ λόγον, Μυκηνέα υἱὸν εἶναι Σπάρ-
τωνος, Σπάρτωνα δὲ Φορωνέως, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε
ἀποδεξαίμην, διότι μηδὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.
Λακεδαιμονίοις γὰρ Σπάρτης μὲν γυναικὸς εἰκών
ἐστιν ἐν 'Αμύκλαις, Σπάρτωνα δὲ Φορωνέως
παῖδα θαυμάζοιεν ἂν καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀκούσαντες.
5 Μυκήνας δὲ 'Αργεῖοι καθεῖλον ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας.
ἡσυχαζόντων γὰρ τῶν 'Αργείων κατὰ τὴν ἐπι-
στρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, Μυκηναῖοι πέμπουσιν ἐς
Θερμοπύλας ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρας, οἳ Λακεδαιμονί-
οις μετέσχον τοῦ ἔργου· τοῦτο ἤνεγκεν ὄλεθρόν
σφισι τὸ φιλοτίμημα παροξῦναν 'Αργείους. λεί-
πεται δὲ ὅμως ἔτι καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ ἡ
πύλη, λέοντες δὲ ἐφεστήκασιν αὐτῇ· Κυκλώπων
δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἳ Προίτῳ τὸ
6 τεῖχος ἐποίησαν ἐν Τίρυνθι. Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς
ἐρειπίοις κρήνη τέ ἐστι καλουμένη Περσεία καὶ
'Ατρέως καὶ τῶν παίδων ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα,
ἔνθα οἱ θησαυροὶ σφισι τῶν χρημάτων ἦσαν.
τάφος δὲ ἔστι μὲν 'Ατρέως, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ὅσους σὺν
'Αγαμέμνονι ἐπανήκοντας ἐξ 'Ιλίου δειπνίσας
κατεφόνευσεν Αἴγισθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ Κασσάνδρας
μνήματος ἀμφισβητοῦσι Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ περὶ
'Αμύκλας οἰκοῦντες· ἕτερον δέ ἐστιν 'Αγαμέ-
μνονος, τὸ δὲ Εὐρυμέδοντος τοῦ ἡνιόχου, καὶ Τελε-
δάμου τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέλοπος—τούτους γὰρ τεκεῖν
7 διδύμους Κασσάνδραν φασί, νηπίους δὲ ἔτι ὄντας
ἐπικατέσφαξε τοῖς γονεῦσιν Αἴγισθος — καὶ
'Ηλέκτρας· Πυλάδῃ γὰρ συνῴκησεν 'Ορέστου
δόντος. 'Ελλάνικος δὲ καὶ τάδε ἔγραψε, Μέ-
δοντα καὶ Στρόφιον γενέσθαι Πυλάδῃ παῖδας ἐξ

lady has given her name to the city. But the account which is attributed to Acusilaus, that Myceneus was the son of Sparton, and Sparton of Phoroneus, I cannot accept, because the Lacedaemonians themselves do not accept it either. For the Lacedaemonians have at Amyclae a portrait statue of a woman named Sparte, but they would be amazed at the mere mention of a Sparton, son of Phoroneus.

It was jealousy which caused the Argives to destroy Mycenae. For at the time of the Persian invasion the Argives made no move, but the Mycenaeans sent eighty men to Thermopylae who shared in the achievement of the Lacedaemonians. This eagerness for distinction brought ruin upon them by exasperating the Argives. There still remain, however, parts of the city wall, including the gate, upon which stand lions. These, too, are said to be the work of the Cyclopes, who made for Proetus the wall at Tiryns. In the ruins of Mycenae is a fountain called Persea; there are also underground chambers of Atreus and his children, in which were stored their treasures. There is the grave of Atreus, along with the graves of such as returned with Agamemnon from Troy, and were murdered by Aegisthus after he had given them a banquet. As for the tomb of Cassandra, it is claimed by the Lacedaemonians who dwell around Amyclae. Agamemnon has his tomb, and so has Eurymedon the charioteer, while another is shared by Teledamus and Pelops, twin sons, they say, of Cassandra, whom while yet babies Aegisthus slew after their parents. Electra has her tomb, for Orestes married her to Pylades. Hellanicus adds that the children of Pylades by Electra were Medon

Ἠλέκτρας. Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ ἐτάφη καὶ Αἴγισθος ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ τείχους· ἐντὸς δὲ ἀπηξιώθησαν, ἔνθα Ἀγαμέμνων τε αὐτὸς ἔκειτο καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ φονευθέντες.

XVII. Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα στάδια τὸ Ἡραῖον. ῥεῖ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὕδωρ Ἐλευθέριον καλούμενον· χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς καθάρσια αἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐς τὰς ἀπορρήτους. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν χθαμαλωτέρῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας· τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὄρος τοῦτο ὀνομάζουσιν Εὔβοιαν, λέγοντες Ἀστερίωνι γενέσθαι τῷ ποταμῷ θυγατέρας Εὔβοιαν καὶ Πρόσυμναν καὶ Ἀκραίαν, εἶναι δὲ σφᾶς
2 τροφοὺς τῆς Ἥρας· καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀκραίας τὸ ὄρος καλοῦσι τὸ ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Ἡραίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐβοίας ὅσον περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, Πρόσυμναν δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ Ἡραῖον χώραν. ὁ δὲ Ἀστερίων οὗτος ῥέων ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐς φάραγγα ἐσπίπτων ἀφανίζεται. φύεται δὲ αὐτοῦ πόα πρὸς ταῖς ὄχθαις· ἀστερίωνα ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὴν πόαν· ταύτην τῇ Ἥρᾳ καὶ αὐτὴν φέρουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
3 φύλλων αὐτῆς στεφάνους πλέκουσιν. ἀρχιτέκτονα μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τοῦ ναοῦ λέγουσιν Εὐπόλεμον Ἀργεῖον· ὁπόσα δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς κίονάς ἐστιν εἰργασμένα, τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν Διὸς γένεσιν καὶ θεῶν καὶ γιγάντων μάχην ἔχει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πρὸς Τροίαν πόλεμον καὶ Ἴλιον τὴν ἅλωσιν. ἀνδριάντες τε ἑστήκασι πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου καὶ γυναικῶν, αἳ γεγόνασιν ἱέρειαι τῆς Ἥρας, καὶ ἡρώων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ὀρέστου· τὸν γὰρ ἐπίγραμμα ἔχοντα, ὡς εἴη βασιλεὺς Αὔγουστος, Ὀρέστην εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῇ μὲν Χάριτες

and Strophius. Clytemnestra and Aegisthus were buried at some little distance from the wall. They were thought unworthy of a place within it, where lay Agamemnon himself and those who were murdered with him.

XVII. Fifteen stades distant from Mycenae is on the left the Heraeum. Beside the road flows the brook called Water of Freedom. The priestesses use it in purifications and for such sacrifices as are secret. The sanctuary itself is on a lower part of Euboea. Euboea is the name they give to the hill here, saying that Asterion the river had three daughters, Euboea, Prosymna, and Acraea, and that they were nurses of Hera. The hill opposite the Heraeum they name after Acraea, the environs of the sanctuary they name after Euboea, and the land beneath the Heraeum after Prosymna. This Asterion flows above the Heraeum, and falling into a cleft disappears. On its banks grows a plant, which also is called asterion. They offer the plant itself to Hera, and from its leaves weave her garlands. It is said that the architect of the temple was Eupolemus, an Argive. The sculptures carved above the pillars refer either to the birth of Zeus and the battle between the gods and the giants, or to the Trojan war and the capture of Ilium. Before the entrance stand statues of women who have been priestesses to Hera and of various heroes, including Orestes. They say that Orestes is the one with the inscription, that it represents the Emperor Augustus. In the fore-temple are on the one side ancient statues of the Graces,

ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖα, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ κλίνη τῆς
Ἥρας καὶ ἀνάθημα ἀσπὶς ἣν Μενέλαός ποτε
4 ἀφείλετο Εὔφορβον ἐν Ἰλίῳ. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς
Ἥρας ἐπὶ θρόνου κάθηται μεγέθει μέγα, χρυσοῦ
μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον· ἔπεστι
δέ οἱ στέφανος Χάριτας ἔχων καὶ Ὥρας ἐπειργα-
σμένας, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν καρπὸν φέρει ῥοιᾶς,
τῇ δὲ σκῆπτρον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν ῥοιὰν—
ἀπορρητότερος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λόγος—ἀφείσθω μοι·
κόκκυγα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθῆσθαί φασι
λέγοντες τὸν Δία, ὅτε ἥρα παρθένου τῆς Ἥρας,
ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆναι, τὴν δὲ ἅτε
παίγνιον θηρᾶσαι. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅσα
ἐοικότα εἴρηται περὶ θεῶν οὐκ ἀποδεχόμενος
5 γράφω, γράφω δὲ οὐδὲν ἧσσον. λέγεται δὲ
παρεστηκέναι τῇ Ἥρᾳ τέχνῃ Ναυκύδους ἄγαλμα
Ἥβης, ἐλέφαντος καὶ τοῦτο καὶ χρυσοῦ· παρὰ
δὲ αὐτήν ἐστιν ἐπὶ κίονος ἄγαλμα Ἥρας ἀρχαῖον.
τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον πεποίηται μὲν ἐξ ἀχράδος,
ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐς Τίρυνθα ὑπὸ Πειράσου τοῦ Ἄργου,
Τίρυνθα δὲ ἀνελόντες Ἀργεῖοι κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ
Ἡραῖον· ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον, καθήμενον ἄγαλμα
6 οὐ μέγα. ἀναθήματα δὲ τὰ ἄξια λόγου βωμὸς
ἔχων ἐπειργασμένον τὸν λεγόμενον Ἥβης καὶ
Ἡρακλέους γάμον· οὗτος μὲν ἀργύρου, χρυσοῦ
δὲ καὶ λίθων λαμπόντων Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεὺς
ταῦν ἀνέθηκεν· ἀνέθηκε δέ, ὅτι τὴν ὄρνιθα
ἱερὰν τῆς Ἥρας νομίζουσι. κεῖται δὲ καὶ στέ-
φανος χρυσοῦς καὶ πέπλος πορφύρας, Νέρωνος
7 ταῦτα ἀναθήματα. ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον
τοῦ προτέρου ναοῦ θεμέλιά τε καὶ εἰ δή τι ἄλλο
ὑπελίπετο ἡ φλόξ. κατεκαύθη δὲ τὴν ἱέρειαν

and on the right a couch of Hera and a votive offering, the shield which Menelaus once took from Euphorbus at Troy. The statue of Hera is seated on a throne; it is huge, made of gold and ivory, and is a work of Polycleitus. She is wearing a crown with Graces and Seasons worked upon it, and in one hand she carries a pomegranate and in the other a sceptre. About the pomegranate I must say nothing, for its story is somewhat of a holy mystery. The presence of a cuckoo seated on the sceptre they explain by the story that when Zeus was in love with Hera in her maidenhood he changed himself into this bird, and she caught it to be her pet. This tale and similar legends about the gods I relate without believing them, but I relate them nevertheless. By the side of Hera stands what is said to be an image of Hebe fashioned by Naucydes; it, too, is of ivory and gold. By its side is an old image of Hera on a pillar. The oldest image is made of wild-pear wood, and was dedicated in Tiryns by Peirasus, son of Argus, and when the Argives destroyed Tiryns they carried it away to the Heraeum. I myself saw it, a small, seated image. Of the votive offerings the following are noteworthy. There is an altar upon which is wrought in relief the fabled marriage of Hebe and Heracles. This is of silver, but the peacock dedicated by the Emperor Hadrian is of gold and gleaming stones. He dedicated it because they hold the bird to be sacred to Hera. There lie here a golden crown and a purple robe, offerings of Nero. Above this temple are the foundations of the earlier temple and such parts of it as were spared by the flames. It was

τῆς Ἥρας Χρυσηίδα ὕπνου καταλαβόντος, ὅτε ὁ λύχνος πρὸ τῶν στεφανωμάτων ἥπτετο. καὶ Χρυσηὶς μὲν ἀπελθοῦσα ἐς Τεγέαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν Ἀλέαν ἱκέτευεν· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καίπερ κακοῦ τηλικούτου παρόντος σφίσι τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ καθεῖλον τῆς Χρυσηίδος, ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ κατακαυθέντος ἔμπροσθεν.

XVIII. Ἐκ Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένοις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Περσέως παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν ἐστιν ἡρῷον. ἔχει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν προσχωρίων, μεγίστας δὲ ἔν τε Σερίφῳ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, οἷς Περσέως τέμενος καὶ Δίκτυος καὶ Κλυμένης βωμὸς σωτήρων καλουμένων Περσέως. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρῴου τούτου Θυέστου τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ· λίθου δὲ ἔπεστιν αὐτῷ κριός, ὅτι τὴν ἄρνα ὁ Θυέστης ἔσχε τὴν χρυσῆν, μοιχεύσας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα. Ἀτρέα δὲ οὐκ ἐπέσχεν ὁ λογισμὸς μετρῆσαι τὴν ἴσην, ἀλλὰ τῶν Θυέστου παίδων σφαγὰς καὶ τὰ ἀδόμενα δεῖπνα ἐξειργά-
2 σατο. ὕστερον δὲ οὐκ ἔχω σαφὲς εἰπεῖν πότερον ἀδικίας ἦρξεν Αἴγισθος ἢ προϋπῆρξεν Ἀγαμέμνονι φόνος Ταντάλου τοῦ Θυέστου· συνοικεῖν δέ φασιν αὐτὸν Κλυταιμνήστρᾳ παρθένῳ παρὰ Τυνδάρεω λαβόντα. ἐγὼ δὲ καταγνῶναι μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλω φύσει σφᾶς γενέσθαι κακούς· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τὸ μίασμα τὸ Πέλοπος καὶ ὁ Μυρτίλου προστρόπαιος ἠκολούθησε, τούτοις ἦν ἄρα ὁμολογοῦντα, ἡνίκα ἡ Πυθία Γλαύκῳ τῷ Ἐπικύδους Σπαρτιάτῃ, βουλεύσαντι ἐπίορκα ὀμόσαι, καὶ τοῦδε εἶπεν ἐς τοὺς ἀπογόνους κατιέναι τὴν δίκην.

burnt down because sleep overpowered Chryseis, the priestess of Hera, when the lamp before the wreaths set fire to them. Chryseis went to Tegea and supplicated Athena Alea. Although so great a disaster had befallen them the Argives did not take down the statue of Chryseis; it is still in position in front of the burnt temple.

XVIII. By the side of the road from Mycenae to Argos there is on the left hand a hero-shrine of Perseus. The neighbouring folk, then, pay him honours here, but the greatest honours are paid to him in Seriphus and among the Athenians, who have a precinct sacred to Perseus and an altar of Dictys and Clymene, who are called the saviours of Perseus. Advancing a little way in the Argive territory from this hero-shrine one sees on the right the grave of Thyestes. On it is a stone ram, because Thyestes obtained the golden lamb after debauching his brother's wife. But Atreus was not restrained by prudence from retaliating, but contrived the slaughter of the children of Thyestes and the banquet of which the poets tell us. But as to what followed, I cannot say for certain whether Aegisthus began the sin or whether Agamemnon sinned first in murdering Tantalus, the son of Thyestes. It is said that Tantalus had received Clytaemnestra in marriage from Tyndareus when she was still a virgin. I myself do not wish to condemn them of having been wicked by nature; but if the pollution of Pelops and the avenging spirit of Myrtilus dogged their steps so long, it was after all only consistent that the Pythian priestess said to the Spartan Glaucus, the son of Epicydes, who consulted her about breaking his oath, that the punishment for this also comes upon the descendants of the sinner.

3 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Κριῶν—οὕτω γὰρ τοῦ Θυέστου τὸ μνῆμα ὀνομάζουσι—προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ χωρίον Μυσία καὶ Δήμητρος Μυσίας ἱερὸν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυσίου τὸ ὄνομα, γενομένου καὶ τούτου, καθάπερ λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι, ξένου τῇ Δήμητρι. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔπεστιν ὄροφος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναός ἐστιν ἄλλος ὀπτῆς πλίνθου, ξόανα δὲ Κόρης καὶ Πλούτωνος καὶ Δήμητρός ἐστι. προελθοῦσι δὲ ποταμός ἐστιν Ἴναχος, καὶ διαβᾶσιν Ἡλίου βωμός. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ πύλην ἥξεις καλουμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἱεροῦ· τὸ δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν Εἰλειθυίας.

4 Μόνους δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἶδα Ἀργείους ἐς τρεῖς βασιλείας νεμηθέντας. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Ἀργείου τοῦ Μεγαπένθους μανία ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐνέπεσεν, ἐκφοιτῶσαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, ἐς ὃ Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθάονος ἔπαυσε σφᾶς τῆς νόσου, ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Βίας Ἀναξαγόρᾳ τὸ ἴσον ἔξουσιν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Βίαντος βασιλεύουσι πέντε ἄνδρες ἐπὶ γενεὰς τέσσαρας ἐς Κυάνιππον τὸν Λιγιαλέως, ὄντες Νηλεῖδαι τὰ πρὸς μητρός, ἀπὸ δὲ Μελάμποδος γενεαί τε ἓξ καὶ ἄνδρες ἴσοι μέχρις Ἀμφιλόχου τοῦ Ἀμ-
5 φιαράου· τὸ δὲ ἐγχώριον γένος οἱ Ἀναξαγορίδαι βασιλεύουσι πλέον. Ἴφις μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλέκτορος τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου Σθενέλῳ τῷ Καπανέως ἀδελφοῦ παιδὶ ἀπέλιπε τὴν ἀρχήν· Ἀμφιλόχου δὲ μετὰ ἅλωσιν Ἰλίου μετοικήσαντος ἐς τοὺς νῦν Ἀμφιλόχους, Κυανίππου δ' ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος, οὕτω Κυλαράβης ὁ Σθενέλου μόνος τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. οὐ μέντοι παῖδας κατέλιπεν οὐδ' οὗτος,

A little beyond the Rams—this is the name they give to the tomb of Thyestes—there is on the left a place called Mysia and a sanctuary of Mysian Demeter, so named from a man Mysius who, say the Argives, was one of those who entertained Demeter. Now this sanctuary has no roof, but in it is another temple, built of burnt brick, and wooden images of the Maid, Pluto and Demeter. Farther on is a river called Inachus, and on the other side of it an altar of Helius (*the Sun*). After this you will come to a gate named after the sanctuary near it. This sanctuary belongs to Eileithyia.

The Argives are the only Greeks that I know of who have been divided into three kingdoms. For in the reign of Anaxagoras, son of Argeüs, son of Megapenthes, the women were smitten with madness, and straying from their homes they roamed about the country, until Melampus the son of Amythaon cured them of the plague on condition that he himself and his brother Bias had a share of the kingdom equal to that of Anaxagoras. Now descended from Bias five men, Neleids on their mother's side, occupied the throne for four generations down to Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus, and descended from Melampus six men in six generations down to Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus. But the native house of the family of Anaxagoras ruled longer than the other two. For Iphis, son of Alector, son of Anaxagoras, left the throne to Sthenelus, son of Capaneus his brother. After the capture of Troy, Amphilochus migrated to the people now called the Amphilochians, and, Cyanippus having died without issue, Cylarabes, son of Sthenelus, became sole king. However, he too left no offspring, and

ἀλλὰ Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος τὸ Ἄργος κατ-
ἔσχε παροικῶν τε ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς
πατρῴας ἀρχῆς προσπεποιημένος μὲν Ἀρκάδων
τοὺς πολλούς, παρειληφὼς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ
βασιλείαν, συμμαχικοῦ δὲ ἐκ Φωκέων ἀεί ποτε
6 ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἑτοίμου παρόντος. Λακεδαιμονίων
δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀρέστης Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφέντων
αὐτῷ· τοὺς γὰρ Τυνδάρεω θυγατριδοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν
ἔχειν ἠξίουν πρὸ Νικοστράτου καὶ Μεγαπένθους
Μενελάῳ γεγενημένων ἐκ δούλης. Ὀρέστου δὲ
ἀποθανόντος ἔσχε Τισαμενὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἑρμιό-
νης τῆς Μενελάου καὶ Ὀρέστου παῖς. τὸν δὲ
Ὀρέστου νόθον Πενθίλον Κυναίθων ἔγραψεν ἐν
7 τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἡριγόνην τὴν Αἰγίσθου τεκεῖν. ἐπὶ
δὲ τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τούτου κατίασιν ἐς Πελοπόν-
νησον Ἡρακλεῖδαι, Τήμενος μὲν καὶ Κρεσφόντης
Ἀριστομάχου, τοῦ τρίτου δὲ Ἀριστοδήμου προ-
τεθνεῶτος εἵποντο οἱ παῖδες. Ἄργους μὲν δὴ
καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἄργει βασιλείας ὀρθότατα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν
ἠμφισβήτουν, ὅτι ἦν Πελοπίδης ὁ Τισαμενός,
οἱ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖδαι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν εἰσι Περσεῖδαι·
Τυνδάρεῳ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκπεσόντα ἀπέφαινον ὑπὸ
Ἱπποκόωντος, Ἡρακλέα δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποκτείναντα
Ἱπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας παρακαταθέσθαι
Τυνδάρεῳ τὴν χώραν· τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς
Μεσσηνίας ἕτερα ἔλεγον, παρακαταθήκην Νέ-
στορι δοθῆναι καὶ ταύτην ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἑλόντος
8 Πύλον. ἐκβάλλουσιν οὖν ἐκ μὲν Λακεδαίμονος
καὶ Ἄργους Τισαμενόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μεσσηνίας
τοὺς Νέστορος ἀπογόνους, Ἀλκμαίωνα Σίλλου
τοῦ Θρασυμήδους καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Πεισι-

Argos was seized by Orestes, son of Agamemnon, who was a neighbour. Besides his ancestral dominion, he had extended his rule over the greater part of Arcadia and had succeeded to the throne of Sparta; he also had a contingent of Phocian allies always ready to help him. When Orestes became king of the Lacedaemonians, they themselves consented to accept him; for they considered that the sons of the daughter of Tyndareus had a claim to the throne prior to that of Nicostratus and Megapenthes, who were sons of Menelaus by a slave woman. On the death of Orestes, there succeeded to the throne Tisamenus, the son of Orestes and of Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus. The mother of Penthilus, the bastard son of Orestes, was, according to the poet Cinaethon, Erigone, the daughter of Aegisthus. It was in the reign of this Tisamenus that the Heracleidae returned to the Peloponnesus; they were Temenus and Cresphontes, the sons of Aristomachus, together with the sons of the third brother, Aristodemus, who had died. Their claim to Argos and to the throne of Argos was, in my opinion, most just, because Tisamenus was descended from Pelops, but the Heracleidae were descendants of Perseus. Tyndareus himself, they made out, had been expelled by Hippocoon, and they said that Heracles, having killed Hippocoon and his sons, had given the land in trust to Tyndareus. They gave the same kind of account about Messenia also, that it had been given in trust to Nestor by Heracles after he had taken Pylus. So they expelled Tisamenus from Lacedaemon and Argos, and the descendants of Nestor from Messenia, namely Alcmaeon, son of Sillus, son of Thrasymedes, Peisistratus, son of Peisistratus,

στράτου καὶ τοὺς Παίονος τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου παῖδας, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Μέλανθον τὸν Ἀνδροπόμπου τοῦ Βώρου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Περικλυμένου. Τισαμενὸς μὲν οὖν ἦλθε σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ οἱ παῖδες
9 ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἀχαΐαν· οἱ δὲ Νηλεῖδαι πλὴν Πεισιστράτου—τοῦτον γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα παρ' οὑστινας ἀπεχώρησεν—ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ τὸ Παιονιδῶν γένος καὶ Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν ἀπὸ τούτων ὠνομάσθησαν. Μέλανθος δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν ἀφελόμενος Θυμοίτην τὸν Ὀξύντου· Θυμοίτης γὰρ Θησειδῶν ἔσχατος ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων.

XIX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν Κρεσφόντου καὶ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων οὐκ ἤπειγεν ὁ λόγος με ἐνταῦθα δηλῶσαι· Τήμενος δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φανεροῦ Δηιφόντῃ τῷ Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ Θρασυάνορος τοῦ Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους στρατηγῷ πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἐχρήσατο ἀντὶ τῶν υἱῶν καὶ σύμβουλον ἐς πάντα εἶχεν, ἅτε αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον πεποιημένος πρότερον ἔτι γαμβρὸν καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ Ὑρνηθοῖ μάλιστα, ὑπωπτεύετο δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐς ἐκείνην καὶ Δηιφόντην τρέπειν. ἐπεβουλεύθη δὲ τούτων ἕνεκα ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν· ἐκείνων δὲ αὐτῷ Κεῖσος πρεσβύτατος ὢν
2 ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ἅτε ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτόνομον ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ παλαιοτάτου, τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν βασιλέων ἐς ἐλάχιστον προήγαγον, ὡς Μήδωνι τῷ Κείσου καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τὸ ὄνομα λειφθῆναι τῆς βασιλείας μόνον. Μέλταν δὲ τὸν Λακήδου δέκατον ἀπίγονον Μήδωνος τὸ παράπαν ἔπαυσεν ἀρχῆς καταγνοὺς ὁ δῆμος.
3 Ἀργείοις δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐπιφανέστατόν

and the sons of Paeon, son of Antilochus, and with them Melanthus, son of Andropompus, son of Borus, son of Penthilus, son of Periclymenus. So Tisamenus and his sons went with his army to the land that is now Achaia. To what people Peisistratus retreated I do not know, but the rest of the Neleidae went to Athens, and the clans of the Paeonidae and of the Alcmaeonidae were named after them. Melanthus even came to the throne, having deposed Thymoetes the son of Oxyntes; for Thymoetes was the last Athenian king descended from Theseus.

XIX. It is not to my purpose that I should set forth here the history of Cresphontes and of the sons of Aristodemus. But Temenus openly employed, instead of his sons, Deïphontes, son of Antimachus, son of Thrasyanor, son of Ctesippus, son of Heracles, as general in war and as adviser on all occasions. Even before this he had made him his son-in-law, while Hyrnetho was his favourite daughter; he was accordingly suspected of intending to divert the throne to her and Deïphontes. For this reason his sons plotted against him, and Ceisus, the eldest of them, seized the kingdom. But from the earliest times the Argives have loved freedom and self-government, and they limited to the utmost the authority of their kings, so that to Medon, the son of Ceisus, and to his descendants was left a kingdom that was such only in name. Meltas, the son of Lacedas, the tenth descendant of Medon, was condemned by the people and deposed altogether from the kingship.

The most famous building in the city of Argos is

ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀττάλου ποίημα ἦν Ἀθηναίου, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Δαναοῦ καὶ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνάθημα ἦν· ξόανα γὰρ δὴ τότε εἶναι πείθομαι πάντα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Αἰγύπτια. Δαναὸς δὲ ἱδρύσατο Λύκιον Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ τοιαύτῃ. παραγενόμενος ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἡμφισβήτει πρὸς Γελάνορα τὸν Σθενέλα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ῥηθέντων δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν τε καὶ ἐπαγωγῶν καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον δίκαια λέγειν τοῦ Γελάνορος δόξαντος, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὑπερέθετο—φασὶν—ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν κρίνειν· 4 ἀρχομένης δὲ ἡμέρας ἐς βοῶν ἀγέλην νεμομένην πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐσπίπτει λύκος, προσπεσὼν δὲ ἐμάχετο πρὸς ταῦρον ἡγεμόνα τῶν βοῶν. παρίσταται δὴ τοῖς Ἀργείοις τῷ μὲν Γελάνορα, Δαναὸν δὲ εἰκάσαι τῷ λύκῳ, ὅτι οὔτε τὸ θηρίον τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις σύντροφον οὔτε Δαναός σφισιν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ταῦρον κατειργάσατο ὁ λύκος, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δαναὸς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. οὕτω δὴ νομίζων Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγέλην ἐπαγαγεῖν τῶν βοῶν τὸν λύκον, 5 ἱδρύσατο Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου. ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκειται μὲν θρόνος Δαναοῦ, κεῖται δὲ εἰκὼν Βίτωνος, ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέρων ταῦρον· ὡς δὲ Λυκέας ἐποίησεν, ἐς Νεμέαν Ἀργείων ἀγόντων θυσίαν τῷ Διὶ ὁ Βίτων ὑπὸ ῥώμης τε καὶ ἰσχύος ταῦρον ἀράμενος ἤνεγκεν. ἐξῆς δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος ταύτης πῦρ καίουσιν ὀνομάζοντες Φορωνέως εἶναι· οὐ γάρ τι ὁμολογοῦσι δοῦναι πῦρ Προμηθέα ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ ἐς Φορωνέα τοῦ πυρὸς μετάγειν

the sanctuary of Apollo Lycius (*Wolf-god*). The modern image was made by the Athenian Attalus,[1] but the original temple and wooden image were the offering of Danaus. I am of opinion that in those days all images, especially Egyptian images, were made of wood. The reason why Danaus founded a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius was this. On coming to Argos he claimed the kingdom against Gelanor, the son of Sthenelas. Many plausible arguments were brought forward by both parties, and those of Sthenelas were considered as fair as those of his opponent; so the people, who were sitting in judgment, put off, they say, the decision to the following day. At dawn a wolf fell upon a herd of oxen that was pasturing before the wall, and attacked and fought with the bull that was the leader of the herd. It occurred to the Argives that Gelanor was like the bull and Danaus like the wolf; for as the wolf will not live with men, so Danaus up to that time had not lived with them. It was because the wolf overcame the bull that Danaus won the kingdom. Accordingly, believing that Apollo had brought the wolf on the herd, he founded a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius. Here is dedicated the throne of Danaus, and here is placed a statue of Biton, in the form of a man carrying a bull on his shoulders. According to the poet Lyceas, when the Argives were holding a sacrifice to Zeus at Nemea, Biton by sheer physical strength took up a bull and carried it there. Next to this statue is a fire which they keep burning, calling it the fire of Phoroneus. For they do not admit that fire was given to mankind by Prometheus, but insist in assigning the discovery of fire to

[1] A sculptor of unknown date.

6 ἐθέλουσι τὴν εὕρεσιν. τὰ δὲ ξόανα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ μὲν Ἐπειοῦ λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ Ὑπερμήστρας ἀνάθημα. ταύτην γὰρ τῶν θυγατέρων μόνην τὸ πρόσταγμα ὑπεριδοῦσαν ὑπήγαγεν ὁ Δαναὸς ἐς δικαστήριον, τοῦ τε Λυγκέως οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον αὑτῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅτι τοῦ τολμήματος οὐ μετασχοῦσα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς καὶ τῷ βουλεύσαντι τὸ ὄνειδος ηὔξησε. κριθεῖσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἀποφεύγει τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτην ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀνέθηκε Νικηφόρον.

7 τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐντὸς Λάδας ποδῶν ὠκύτητι ὑπερβαλλόμενος τοὺς ἐφ' αὑτοῦ καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐς λύρας ποίησιν χελώνην ἡρηκώς. ἔστι δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ βόθρος[1] πεποιημένα ἐν τύπῳ ταύρου μάχην ἔχων καὶ λύκου, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρθένον ἀφιεῖσαν πέτραν ἐπὶ τὸν ταῦρον· Ἄρτεμιν εἶναι νομίζουσι τὴν παρθένον. Δαναὸς δὲ ταῦτά τε ἀνέθηκε καὶ πλησίον κίονας καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον.

8 Τάφοι δέ εἰσιν ὁ μὲν Λίνου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ψαμάθης τῆς Κροτώπου, τὸν δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λίνου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ ἔπη. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τοῦτον οἰκειότερα ὄντα ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ παρίημι τῷδε, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ψαμάθης ἡ Μεγαρικὴ μοι συγγραφὴ προεδήλωσεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεὺς καὶ βωμὸς Ὑετίου Διός, ἔνθα οἱ συσπεύδοντες Πολυνείκει τὴν ἐς Θήβας κάθοδον ἀποθανεῖσθαι συνώμοσαν, ἣν μὴ τὰς

[1] See the footnote on the opposite page.

Phoroneus. As to the wooden images of Aphrodite and Hermes, the one they say was made by Epeüs, while the other is a votive offering of Hypermnestra. She was the only one of the daughters of Danaus who neglected his command,[1] and was accordingly brought to justice by him, because he considered that his life was in danger so long as Lynceus was at large, and that the refusal to share in the crime of her sisters increased the disgrace of the contriver of the deed. On her trial she was acquitted by the Argives, and to commemorate her escape she dedicated an image of Aphrodite, the Bringer of Victory. Within the temple is a statue of Ladas, the swiftest runner of his time, and one of Hermes with a tortoise which he has caught to make a lyre. Before the temple is a pit[2] with a relief representing a fight between a bull and a wolf, and with them a maiden throwing a rock at the bull. The maiden is thought to be Artemis. Danaus dedicated these, and some pillars hard by and wooden images of Zeus and Artemis.

Here are graves; one is that of Linus, the son of Apollo by Psamathe, the daughter of Crotopus; the other, they say, is that of Linus the poet. The story of the latter Linus is more appropriate to another part of my narrative, and so I omit it here, while I have already given the history of the son of Psamathe in my account of Megara. After these is an image of Apollo, God of Streets, and an altar of Zeus, God of Rain, where those who were helping Polyneices in his efforts to be restored to Thebes swore an oath together that they would either capture Thebes

[1] To kill their husbands.

[2] Or (reading *βάθρον πεποιημένην* and *ἔχον*) "pedestal."

Θήβας γένηταί σφισιν ἐλεῖν. ἐς δὲ τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸ μνῆμα ἧσσόν μοι δοκοῦσιν Ὀπουντίων εἰκότα λέγειν, λέγουσι δὲ ὅμως.

XX. Παρέντι δὲ Κρεύγα τε εἰκόνα ἀνδρὸς πύκτου καὶ τρόπαιον ἐπὶ Κορινθίοις ἀναστατῶν, ἄγαλμά ἐστι καθήμενον Διὸς Μειλιχίου, λίθου λευκοῦ, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον. ποιηθῆναι δὲ ἐπυνθανόμην αὐτὸ ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ τοιαύτῃ. Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ἀργείους ἀρξαμένοις οὐδεμία ἦν ἔτι ἀπαλλαγή, πρὶν ἢ Φίλιππος σφᾶς ἠνάγκασεν ὁ Ἀμύντου μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅροις τῆς χώρας. τὸν δὲ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μηδὲν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου περιεργαζόμενοι τῆς Ἀργείας ἀεί τι ἀπετέμνοντο, ἢ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τετραμμένων πρὸς πόλεμον ἐκείνων ὑπερόριον ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ
2 αὐτοί σφισιν ἐνέκειντο. προηγμένου δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἐς ἄκρον τοῦ μίσους ἔδοξεν Ἀργείοις λογάδας τρέφειν χιλίους· ἡγεμὼν δὲ ἐτέτακτο ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Βρύας Ἀργεῖος, ὃς ἄλλα τε ἐς ἄνδρας ὕβρισε τοῦ δήμου καὶ παρθένον κομιζομένην παρὰ τὸν νυμφίον ᾔσχυνεν ἀφελόμενος τοὺς ἄγοντας. ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς τυφλοῖ τὸν Βρύαντα ἡ παῖς φυλάξασα ὑπνωμένον· φωραθεῖσα δὲ ὡς ἐπέσχεν ἡμέρα, κατέφυγεν ἱκέτις ἐς τὸν δῆμον. οὐ προεμένων δὲ αὐτὴν τιμωρήσασθαι τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου προαχθέντων ἐς μάχην ἀμφοτέρων, κρατοῦσιν οἱ τοῦ δήμου, κρατήσαντες δὲ οὐδένα ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔλιπον. ὕστερον δὲ ἄλλα τε ἐπηγάγοντο καθάρσια ὡς ἐπὶ αἵματι ἐμφυλίῳ καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκαν Μειλιχίου Διός.

or die. As to the tomb of Prometheus, their account seems to me to be less probable than that of the Opuntians,[1] but they hold to it nevertheless.

XX. Passing over a statue of Creugas, a boxer, and a trophy that was set up to celebrate a victory over the Corinthians, you come to a seated image of Zeus Meilichius (*Gracious*), made of white marble by Polycleitus. I discovered that it was made for the following reason. Ever since the Lacedaemonians began to make war upon the Argives there was no cessation of hostilities until Philip, the son of Amyntas, forced them to stay within the original boundaries of their territories. Before this, if the Lacedaemonians were not engaged on some business outside the Peloponnesus, they were always trying to annex a piece of Argive territory; or if they were busied with a war beyond their borders it was the turn of the Argives to retaliate. When the hatred of both sides was at its height, the Argives resolved to maintain a thousand picked men. The commander appointed over them was the Argive Bryas. His general behaviour to the men of the people was violent, and a maiden who was being taken to the bridegroom he seized from those who were escorting her and ravished. When night came on, the girl waited until he was asleep and put out his eyes. Detected in the morning, she took refuge as a suppliant with the people. When they did not give her up to the Thousand for punishment both sides took up arms; the people won the day, and in their anger left none of their opponents alive. Subsequently they had recourse to purifications for shedding kindred blood; among other things they dedicated an image of Zeus Meilichius.

c. 480–410 B.C.

418 B.C.

[1] *i.e.* both peoples claimed to have the grave.

3 Πλησίον δέ εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι λίθῳ Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων αὐτοί τε ἕλκοντες τὴν ἅμαξαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἄγοντες τὴν μητέρα ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. τούτων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Νεμείου Διός ἐστιν ἱερόν, ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Λυσίππου. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ προελθοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Φορωνέως τάφος ἐστίν· ἐναγίζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῷ Φορωνεῖ. πέραν δὲ τοῦ Νεμείου Διὸς Τύχης ἐστὶν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου ναός, εἰ δὴ Παλαμήδης κύβους εὑρὼν ἀνέθηκεν ἐς
4 τοῦτον τὸν ναόν. τὸ δὲ μνῆμα τὸ πλησίον Χορείας μαινάδος ὀνομάζουσι, Διονύσῳ λέγοντες καὶ ἄλλας γυναῖκας καὶ ταύτην ἐς Ἄργος συστρατεύσασθαι, Περσέα δέ, ὡς ἐκράτει τῆς μάχης, φονεῦσαι τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς πολλάς· τὰς μὲν οὖν λοιπὰς θάπτουσιν ἐν κοινῷ, ταύτῃ δὲ— ἀξιώματι γὰρ δὴ προεῖχεν—ἰδίᾳ τὸ μνῆμα ἐποί-
5 ησαν. ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον Ὥρῶν ἱερόν ἐστιν. ἐπανιόντι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἀνδριάντες ἑστήκασι Πολυνείκους τοῦ Οἰδίποδος καὶ ὅσοι σὺν ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἐν τέλει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος μαχόμενοι τὸ Θηβαίων ἐτελεύτησαν. τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μόνων ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν κατήγαγεν Αἰσχύλος, πλειόνων ἔκ τε Ἄργους ἡγεμόνων καὶ Μεσσήνης καί τινων καὶ Ἀρκάδων στρατευσαμένων. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ —ἐπηκολουθήκασι γὰρ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τῇ Αἰσχύλου ποιήσει—πλησίον κεῖνται καὶ οἱ τὰς Θήβας ἑλόντες Λιγιαλεὺς Ἀδράστου καὶ Πρόμαχος ὁ Παρθενοπαίου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ καὶ Πολύδωρος Ἱππομέδοντος καὶ Θέρσανδρος καὶ οἱ Ἀμφιαράου παῖδες, Ἀλκμαίων τε καὶ Ἀμφίλοχος, Διομήδης τε καὶ Σθένελος· παρῆν δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων

Hard by are Cleobis and Biton carved in relief on stone, themselves drawing the carriage and taking in it their mother to the sanctuary of Hera. Opposite them is a sanctuary of Nemean Zeus, and an upright bronze statue of the god made by Lysippus.[1] Going forward from this you see on the right the grave of Phoroneus, to whom even in our time they bring offerings as to a hero. Over against the Nemean Zeus is a temple of Fortune, which must be very old if it be the one in which Palamedes dedicated the dice that he had invented. The tomb near this they call that of the maenad Chorea, saying that she was one of the women who joined Dionysus in his expedition against Argos, and that Perseus, being victorious in the battle, put most of the women to the sword. To the rest they gave a common grave, but to Chorea they gave burial apart because of her high rank. A little farther on is a sanctuary of the Seasons. On coming back from here you see statues of Polyneices, the son of Oedipus, and of all the chieftains who with him were killed in battle at the wall of Thebes. These men Aeschylus has reduced to the number of seven only, although there were more chiefs than this in the expedition, from Argos, from Messene, with some even from Arcadia. But the Argives have adopted the number seven from the drama of Aeschylus, and near to their statues are the statues of those who took Thebes: Aegialeus, son of Adrastus; Promachus, son of Parthenopaeus, son of Talaus; Polydorus, son of Hippomedon; Thersander; Alcmaeon and Amphilochus, the sons of Amphiaraus; Diomedes, and Sthenelus. Among their company were also

[1] See p. 297.

Εὐρύαλος Μηκιστέως καὶ Πολυνείκους Ἄδραστος
6 καὶ Τιμέας. τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οὐ πόρρω δείκνυται Δαναοῦ μνῆμα καὶ Ἀργείων τάφος κενὸς ὁπόσους ἔν τε Ἰλίῳ καὶ ὀπίσω κομιζομένους ἐπέλαβεν ἡ τελευτή. καὶ Διός ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Σωτῆρος καὶ παριοῦσίν ἐστιν οἴκημα· ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἄδωνιν αἱ γυναῖκες Ἀργείων ὀδύρονται. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῷ Κηφισῷ πεποίηται τὸ ἱερόν· τῷ δὲ ποταμῷ τούτῳ τὸ ὕδωρ φασὶν οὐ καθάπαξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφανισθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι,
7 συνιᾶσιν ὑπὸ γῆν ῥέοντος. παρὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Κηφισοῦ Μεδούσης λίθου πεποιημένη κεφαλή· Κυκλώπων φασὶν εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ὄπισθεν καὶ ἐς τόδε Κριτήριον ὀνομάζουσιν, Ὑπερμήστραν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ Δαναοῦ κριθῆναι λέγοντες. τούτου δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω θέατρον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλα θέας ἄξια καὶ ἀνὴρ φονεύων ἐστὶν ἄνδρα, Ὀθρυάδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην Περίλαος Ἀργεῖος ὁ Ἀλκήνορος· Περιλάῳ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπῆρχε Νεμείων ἀνῃρῆσθαι νίκην παλαίοντι.
8 Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τοῦ ἕδους Τελέσιλλα ἡ ποιήσασα τὰ ἄσματα ἐπείργασται στήλῃ· καὶ βιβλία μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἔρριπται οἱ πρὸς τοῖς ποσίν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐς κράνος ὁρᾷ κατέχουσα τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ κεφαλῇ μέλλουσα. ἦν δὲ ἡ Τελέσιλλα καὶ ἄλλως ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν εὐδόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτιμᾶτο ἔτι ἐπὶ τῇ ποιήσει. συμβάντος δὲ Ἀργείοις ἀτυχῆσαι λόγου μειζόνως πρὸς Κλεομένην τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τῶν

Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, and Adrastus and Timeas, sons of Polyneices. Not far from the statues are shown the tomb of Danaus and a cenotaph of the Argives who met their death at Troy or on the journey home. Here there is also a sanctuary of Zeus the Saviour. Beyond it is a building where the Argive women bewail Adonis. On the right of the entrance is the sanctuary of Cephisus. It is said that the water of this river was not utterly destroyed by Poseidon, but that just in this place, where the sanctuary is, it can be heard flowing under the earth. Beside the sanctuary of Cephisus is a head of Medusa made of stone, which is said to be another of the works of the Cyclopes. The ground behind it is called even at the present time the Place of Judgment, because it was here that they say Hypermnestra was brought to judgment by Danaus. Not far from this is a theatre. In it are some noteworthy sights, including a representation of a man killing another, namely the Argive Perilaus, the son of Alcenor, killing the Spartan Othryadas. Before this, Perilaus had succeeded in winning the prize for wrestling at the Nemean games.

Above the theatre is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and before the image is a slab with a representation wrought on it in relief of Telesilla, the lyric poetess. Her books lie scattered at her feet, and she herself holds in her hand an helmet, which she is looking at and is about to place on her head. Telesilla was a distinguished woman who was especially renowned for her poetry. It happened that the Argives had suffered an awful defeat at the hands of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides, and

μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ πεπτωκότων τῇ μάχῃ, ὅσοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου κατέφευγον διαφθαρέντων καὶ τούτων, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐξιόντων κατὰ ὁμολογίαν, ὡς δὲ ἔγνωσαν ἀπατώμενοι συγκατακαυθέντων τῷ ἄλσει τῶν λοιπῶν, οὕτω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους Κλεομένης ἦγεν ἐπὶ ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν τὸ Ἄργος. 9 Τελέσιλλα δὲ οἰκέτας μὲν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ νεότητα ἢ γῆρας ὅπλα ἀδύνατοι φέρειν ἦσαν, τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὴ δὲ ὁπόσα ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ὑπελείπετο καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὅπλα ἀθροίσασα τὰς ἀκμαζούσας ἡλικίᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν ὥπλιζεν, ὁπλίσασα δὲ ἔτασσε κατὰ τοῦτο ᾗ τοὺς πολεμίους προσιόντας ἠπίστατο. ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες οὔτε τῷ ἀλαλαγμῷ κατεπλάγησαν δεξάμεναί τε ἐμάχοντο ἐρρωμένως, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φρονήσαντες ὡς καὶ διαφθείρασί σφισι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπιφθόνως τὸ κατόρθωμα ἕξει καὶ σφαλεῖσι μετὰ ὀνειδῶν γενήσοιτο ἡ συμφορά, 10 ὑπείκουσι ταῖς γυναιξί. πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον προεσήμηνεν ἡ Πυθία, καὶ τὸ λόγιον εἴτε ἄλλως εἴτε καὶ ὡς συνεὶς ἐδήλωσεν Ἡρόδοτος·

> ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρρενα νικήσασα
> ἐξελάσῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρηται,
> πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τότε θήσει.

Τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον τῶν γυναικῶν ἔχοντα τοῦ χρησμοῦ ταῦτα ἦν. XXI. κατελθοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τραπεῖσιν αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἔστι

the Lacedaemonians. Some fell in the actual fighting; others, who had fled to the grove of Argus, also perished. At first they left sanctuary under an agreement, which was treacherously broken, and the survivors, when they realized this, were burnt to death in the grove. So when Cleomenes led his troops to Argos there were no men to defend it. But Telesilla mounted on the wall all the slaves and 510 B.C. such as were incapable of bearing arms through youth or old age, and she herself, collecting the arms in the sanctuaries and those that were left in the houses, armed the women of vigorous age, and then posted them where she knew the enemy would attack. When the Lacedaemonians came on, the women were not dismayed at their battle-cry, but stood their ground and fought valiantly. Then the Lacedaemonians, realizing that to destroy the women would be an invidious success while defeat would mean a shameful disaster, gave way before the women. This fight had been foretold by the Pythian priestess in the oracle quoted by Herodotus,[1] who perhaps understood to what it referred and perhaps did not:—

"But when the time shall come that the female conquers in battle,
Driving away the male, and wins great glory in Argos,
Many an Argive woman will tear both cheeks in her sorrow."

Such are the words of the oracle referring to the exploit of the women. XXI. Having descended thence, and having turned again to the

[1] vi. 77.

μὲν Κερδοῦς Φορωνέως γυναικὸς μνῆμα, ἔστι δὲ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Πειθοῦς, Ὑπερμήστρα καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέθηκε νικήσασα τῇ δίκῃ τὸν πατέρα ἣν τοῦ Λυγκέως ἕνεκα ἔφυγε. καὶ Αἰνείου ἐνταῦθα χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς ἐστι καὶ χωρίον καλούμενον Δέλτα· ἐφ' ὅτῳ δέ—οὐ γάρ μοι τὰ λεγόμενα ἤρεσκεν—, ἑκὼν
2 παρίημι. πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποίηται Διὸς Φυξίου βωμὸς καὶ πλησίον Ὑπερμήστρας μνῆμα Ἀμφιαράου μητρός, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Ὑπερμήστρας τῆς Δαναοῦ· σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ Λυγκεὺς τέθαπται. τούτων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Ταλαοῦ τοῦ Βίαντός ἐστι τάφος· τὰ δὲ ἐς Βίαντα καὶ ἀπογόνους τοῦ Βίαν-
3 τος ἤδη λέλεκταί μοι. Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ἱδρύσασθαι Σάλπιγγος ἱερόν φασιν Ἠγέλεων. Τυρσηνοῦ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἠγέλεων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ γυναικὸς λέγουσι τῆς Λυδῆς, Τυρσηνὸν δὲ σάλπιγγα εὑρεῖν πρῶτον, Ἠγέλεων δὲ τὸν Τυρσηνοῦ διδάξαι τοὺς σὺν Τημένῳ Δωριέας τοῦ ὀργάνου τὸν ψόφον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπονομάσαι Σάλπιγγα. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Ἐπιμενίδου λέγουσιν εἶναι τάφον· Λακεδαιμονίους γὰρ πολεμήσαντας πρὸς Κνωσσίους ἑλεῖν ζῶντα Ἐπιμενίδην, λαβόντας δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι,
4 διότι σφίσιν οὐκ αἴσια ἐμαντεύετο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνελόμενοι θάψαι ταύτῃ φασί. τὸ δὲ οἰκοδόμημα λευκοῦ λίθου κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ τρόπαιον ἐπὶ Πύρρῳ τῷ Ἠπειρώτῃ, καθὰ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, καυθέντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ νεκροῦ μνῆμα καὶ τοῦτο ἂν εὕροι τις, ἐν ᾧ τά τε ἄλλα ὅσοις ὁ Πύρρος ἐχρῆτο ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ οἱ

market-place, we come to the tomb of Cerdo, the wife of Phoroneus, and to a temple of Asclepius. The sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Persuasion, is another offering of Hypermnestra after winning the trial to which she was brought by her father because of Lynceus. Here there is also a bronze statue of Aeneas, and a place called Delta. I intentionally do not discuss the origin of the name, because I could not accept the traditional accounts. In front of it stands an altar of Zeus Phyxius (*God of Flight*), and near is the tomb of Hypermnestra, the mother of Amphiaraus, the other tomb being that of Hypermnestra, the daughter of Danaus, with whom is also buried Lynceus. Opposite these is the grave of Talaus, the son of Bias; the history of Bias and his descendants I have already given. A sanctuary of Athena Trumpet they say was founded by Hegeleos. This Hegeleos, according to the story, was the son of Tyrsenus, and Tyrsenus was the son of Heracles and the Lydian woman; Tyrsenus invented the trumpet, and Hegeleos, the son of Tyrsenus, taught the Dorians with Temenus how to play the instrument, and for this reason gave Athena the surname Trumpet. Before the temple of Athena is, they say, the grave of Epimenides. The Argive story is that the Lacedaemonians made war upon the Cnossians and took Epimenides alive; they then put him to death for not prophesying good luck to them, and the Argives taking his body buried it here. The building of white marble in just about the middle of the market-place is not, as the Argives declare, a trophy in honour of a victory over Pyrrhus of Epeirus, but it can be shown that his body was burnt here, and that this is his monument, on which are carved in relief

ἐλέφαντές εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν πυρὰν τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἐγένετο· αὐτὰ δὲ κεῖται τοῦ Πύρρου τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Δήμητρος, παρ' ᾧ συμβῆναί οἱ καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐδήλωσα ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ. τοῦ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱεροῦ τούτου κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον ἀσπίδα ἰδεῖν Πύρρου χαλκῆν ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν θυρῶν ἀνακειμένην.

5 Τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν Ἀργείων οἰκοδομήματος οὐ μακρὰν χῶμα γῆς ἐστιν· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι τὴν Μεδούσης λέγουσι τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλήν. ἀπόντος δὲ τοῦ μύθου τάδε ἄλλα ἐς αὐτήν ἐστιν εἰρημένα· Φόρκου μὲν θυγατέρα εἶναι, τελευτήσαντος δέ οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς βασιλεύειν τῶν περὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Τριτωνίδα οἰκούντων καὶ ἐπὶ θήραν τε ἐξιέναι καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς Λίβυσι· καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀντικαθημένην στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν Περσέως δύναμιν—ἔπεσθαι γὰρ καὶ τῷ Περσεῖ λογάδας ἐκ Πελοποννήσου—δολοφονηθῆναι νύκτωρ, καὶ τὸν Περσέα τὸ κάλλος ἔτι καὶ ἐπὶ νεκρῷ θαυμάζοντα οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντα αὐτῆς ἄγειν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
6 ἐς ἐπίδειξιν. Καρχηδονίῳ δὲ ἀνδρὶ Προκλεῖ τῷ Εὐκράτους ἕτερος λόγος ὅδε ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τοῦ προτέρου πιθανώτερος. Λιβύης ἡ ἔρημος καὶ ἄλλα παρέχεται θηρία ἀκούσασιν οὐ πιστὰ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐνταῦθα ἄγριοι καὶ ἄγριαι γίνονται γυναῖκες· ἔλεγέ τε ὁ Προκλῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν κομισθέντα ἐς Ῥώμην. εἴκαζεν οὖν πλανηθεῖσαν γυναῖκα ἐκ τούτων καὶ ἀφικομένην ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Τριτωνίδα λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς προσοίκους, ἐς ὃ Περσεὺς ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτήν· Ἀθηνᾶν δέ οἱ συν-

the elephants and his other instruments of warfare. This building then was set up where the pyre stood, but the bones of Pyrrhus lie in the sanctuary of Demeter, beside which, as I have shown in my account of Attica, his death occurred. At the entrance to this sanctuary of Demeter you can see a bronze shield of Pyrrhus hanging dedicated over the door.

Not far from the building in the market-place of Argos is a mound of earth, in which they say lies the head of the Gorgon Medusa. I omit the miraculous, but give the rational parts of the story about her. After the death of her father, Phorcus, she reigned over those living around Lake Tritonis, going out hunting and leading the Libyans to battle. On one such occasion, when she was encamped with an army over against the forces of Perseus, who was followed by picked troops from the Peloponnesus, she was assassinated by night. Perseus, admiring her beauty even in death, cut off her head and carried it to show the Greeks. But Procles, the son of Eucrates, a Carthaginian, thought a different account more plausible than the preceding. It is as follows. Among the incredible monsters to be found in the Libyan desert are wild men and wild women. Procles affirmed that he had seen a man from them who had been brought to Rome. So he guessed that a woman wandered from them, reached Lake Tritonis, and harried the neighbours until Perseus killed her; Athena was supposed to have helped him in this

ἐπιλαβέσθαι δοκεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Τριτωνίδα ἄνθρωποι ταύτης εἰσὶν
7 ἱεροί. ἐν δὲ Ἄργει παρὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ μνῆμα τῆς Γοργόνος Γοργοφόνης τάφος ἐστὶ τῆς Περσέως. καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὲν αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἐτέθη, δῆλον εὐθὺς ἀκούσαντι· γυναικῶν δὲ πρώτην αὐτὴν φασι τελευτήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Περιήρους τοῦ Αἰόλου—τούτῳ γὰρ παρθένος συνῴκησε—, τὴν δὲ αὖθις Οἰβάλῳ γήμασθαι· πρότερον δὲ καθεστήκει ταῖς
8 γυναιξὶν ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ ἀποθανόντι χηρεύειν. τοῦ τάφου δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τρόπαιον λίθου πεποίηται κατὰ ἀνδρὸς Ἀργείου Λαφάους· τοῦτον γὰρ—γράφω δὲ ὁπόσα λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν Ἀργεῖοι—τυραννοῦντα ἐξέβαλεν ἐπαναστὰς ὁ δῆμος, φυγόντα δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατάγειν ἐπειρῶντο ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τῇ μάχῃ Λαφάην τε καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν.

Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Λητοῦς ἔστι μὲν οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ
9 τροπαίου, τέχνη δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα Πραξιτέλους. τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα παρὰ τῇ θεῷ τῆς παρθένου Χλῶριν ὀνομάζουσι, Νιόβης μὲν θυγατέρα εἶναι λέγοντες, Μελίβοιαν δὲ καλεῖσθαι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς· ἀπολλυμένων δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶν Ἀμφίονος παίδων περιγενέσθαι μόνην τῶν ἀδελφῶν ταύτην καὶ Ἀμύκλαν, περιγενέσθαι δὲ εὐξαμένους τῇ Λητοῖ. Μελίβοιαν δὲ οὕτω δή τι παραυτίκα τε χλωρὰν τὸ δεῖμα ἐποίησε καὶ ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου παρέμεινεν ὡς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι αὐτῇ Μελιβοίας αὐτῇ γενέσθαι
10 Χλῶριν. τούτους δή φασιν Ἀργεῖοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκοδομῆσαι τῇ Λητοῖ τὸν ναόν· ἐγὼ δὲ—πρόσκει-

exploit, because the people who live around Lake Tritonis are sacred to her. In Argos, by the side of this monument of the Gorgon, is the grave of Gorgophone (*Gorgon-killer*), the daughter of Perseus. As soon as you hear the name you can understand the reason why it was given her. On the death of her husband, Perieres, the son of Aeolus, whom she married when a virgin, she married Oebalus, being the first woman, they say, to marry a second time; for before this wives were wont, on the death of their husbands, to live as widows. In front of the grave is a trophy of stone made to commemorate a victory over an Argive Laphaës. When this man was tyrant—I write what the Argives themselves say concerning themselves — the people rose up against him and cast him out. He fled to Sparta, and the Lacedaemonians tried to restore him to power, but were defeated by the Argives, who killed the greater part of them and Laphaës as well.

Not far from the trophy is the sanctuary of Leto; the image is a work of Praxiteles. The statue of the maiden beside the goddess they call Chloris (*Pale*), saying that she was a daughter of Niobe, and that she was called Meliboea at the first. When the children of Amphion were destroyed by Apollo and Artemis, she alone of her sisters, along with Amyclas, escaped; their escape was due to their prayers to Leto. Meliboea was struck so pale by her fright, not only at the time but also for the rest of her life, that even her name was accordingly changed from Meliboea to Chloris. Now the Argives say that these two built originally the temple to Leto, but I think that none of Niobe's children

μαι γὰρ πλέον τι ἢ οἱ λοιποὶ τῇ Ὁμήρου ποιήσει —δοκῶ τῇ Νιόβῃ τῶν παίδων μηδένα ὑπόλοιπον γενέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τὸ ἔπος

τὼ δ' ἄρα καὶ δοιώ περ ἐόντ' ἀπὸ πάντας ὄλεσσαν.

Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ἀμφίονος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνατραπέντα οἶδε· XXII. τῆς δὲ Ἥρας ὁ ναὸς τῆς Ἀνθείας ἐστὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Λητοῦς ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γυναικῶν τάφος. ἀπέθανον δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν μάχῃ πρὸς Ἀργείους τε καὶ Περσέα, ἀπὸ νήσων τῶν ἐν Αἰγαίῳ Διονύσῳ συνεστρατευμέναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀλίας αὐτὰς ἐπονομάζουσιν. ἀντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ μνήματος τῶν γυναικῶν Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Πελασγίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδρυσαμένου Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Τριόπα, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἱεροῦ τάφος Πελασγοῦ.
2 πέραν δὲ τοῦ τάφου χαλκεῖόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς. Λυκέας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησε Μηχανέως τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι Διός, καὶ Ἀργείων ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐνταῦθα ὁμόσαι παραμενεῖν πολεμοῦντας, ἕστ' ἂν ἢ τὸ Ἴλιον ἕλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτὴ σφᾶς ἐπιλάβῃ· ἑτέροις δέ ἐστιν εἰρημένον ὁστᾶ
3 ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ κεῖσθαι Ταντάλου. τὸν μὲν δὴ Θυέστου παῖδα ἢ Βροτέου—λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφότερα—, ὃς Κλυταιμνήστρᾳ πρότερον ἢ Ἀγαμέμνονι συνῴκησε, τοῦτον μὲν τὸν Τάνταλον οὐ διοίσομαι ταφῆναι ταύτῃ· τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου Διός τε εἶναι καὶ Πλουτοῦς ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν Σιπύλῳ τάφον

survived, for I place more reliance than others on the poetry of Homer, one[1] of whose verses bears out my view :—

"Though they were only two, yet they gave all to destruction."

So Homer knows that the house of Amphion was utterly overthrown. XXII. The temple of Hera Anthea (*Flowery*) is on the right of the sanctuary of Leto, and before it is a grave of women. They were killed in a battle against the Argives under Perseus, having come from the Aegean Islands to help Dionysus in war ; for which reason they are surnamed Haliae (*Women of the Sea*). Facing the tomb of the women is a sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Pelasgian from Pelasgus, son of Triopas, its founder, and not far from the sanctuary is the grave of Pelasgus. Opposite the grave is a small bronze vessel supporting ancient images of Artemis, Zeus, and Athena. Now Lyceas in his poem says that the image is of Zeus Mechaneus (*Contriver*), and that here the Argives who set out against Troy swore to hold out in the war until they either took Troy or met their end fighting. Others have said that in the bronze vessel lie the bones of Tantalus. Now that the Tantalus is buried here who was the son of Thyestes or Broteas (both accounts are given) and married Clytaemnestra before Agamemnon did, I will not gainsay ; but the grave of him who legend says was son of Zeus and Pluto—it is worth seeing—is on Mount Sipylus.

[1] *Iliad* xxiv. 609.

θέας ἄξιον. πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ ἀνάγκη συνέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς Σιπύλου φυγεῖν αὐτόν, ὡς Πέλοπα ἐπέλαβεν ὕστερον ἐλαύνοντος Ἴλου τοῦ Φρυγὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατείᾳ.

Τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐξητάσθω· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν βόθρον τὸν πλησίον δρώμενα Νικόστρατον ἄνδρα ἐπιχώριον καταστήσασθαι λέγουσιν. ἀφιᾶσι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐς τὸν βόθρον καιομένας λαμπάδας
4 Κόρῃ τῇ Δήμητρος. ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Προσκλυστίου· τῆς γὰρ χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶνά φασιν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν πολλήν, ὅτι Ἥρας εἶναι καὶ οὐκ αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν Ἴναχος καὶ οἱ συνδικάσαντες ἔγνωσαν. Ἥρα μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ποσειδῶνος εὕρετο ἀπελθεῖν ὀπίσω τὴν θάλασσαν· Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ὅθεν τὸ κῦμα ἀνεχώρησεν, ἱερὸν
5 Ποσειδῶνι ἐποίησαν Προσκλυστίῳ. προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺ τάφος ἐστὶν Ἄργου Διὸς εἶναι δοκοῦντος καὶ τῆς Φορωνέως Νιόβης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διοσκούρων ναός. ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν Ἀναξις καὶ Μνασίνους, σὺν δὲ σφισιν αἱ μητέρες Ἱλάειρα καὶ Φοίβη, τέχνη μὲν Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, ξύλου δὲ ἐβένου· τοῖς δ' ἵπποις τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐβένου καὶ τούτοις,
6 ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαντος πεποίηται. πλησίον δὲ τῶν Ἀνάκτων Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἀνάθημα Ἑλένης, ὅτε σὺν Πειρίθῳ Θησέως ἀπελθόντος ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς Ἀφιδνά τε ὑπὸ Διοσκούρων ἑάλω καὶ ἤγετο ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Ἑλένη. ἔχειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν λέγουσιν ἐν γαστρί, τεκοῦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἄργει καὶ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἱδρυσαμένην τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν μὲν παῖδα ἣν ἔτεκε Κλυταιμνήστρᾳ δοῦναι—συνοικεῖν γὰρ ἤδη Κλυταιμνήστραν Ἀγαμέμνονι—, αὐτὴν

I know because I saw it. Moreover, no constraint came upon him to flee from Sipylus, such as afterwards forced Pelops to run away when Ilus the Phrygian launched an army against him.

But I must pursue the inquiry no further. The ritual performed at the pit hard by they say was instituted by Nicostratus, a native. Even at the present day they throw into the pit burning torches in honour of the Maid who is daughter of Demeter. Here is a sanctuary of Poseidon, surnamed Prosclystius (*Flooder*), for they say that Poseidon inundated the greater part of the country because Inachus and his assessors decided that the land belonged to Hera and not to him. Now it was Hera who induced Poseidon to send the sea back, but the Argives made a sanctuary to Poseidon Proselystius at the spot where the tide ebbed. Going on a little further you see the grave of Argus, reputed to be the son of Zeus and Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus. After these comes a temple of the Dioscuri. The images represent the Dioscuri themselves and their sons, Anaxis and Mnasinous, and with them are their mothers, Hilaeira and Phoebe. They are of ebony wood, and were made by Dipoenus and Scyllis. The horses, too, are mostly of ebony, but there is a little ivory also in their construction. Near the Lords is a sanctuary of Eilethyia, dedicated by Helen when, Theseus having gone away with Peirithous to Thesprotia, Aphidna had been captured by the Dioscuri and Helen was being brought to Lacedaemon. For it is said that she was with child, was delivered in Argos, and founded there the sanctuary of Eilethyia, giving the daughter she bore to Clytaemnestra, who was already wedded to Agamemnon, while she herself

Sixth cent. B.C.

7 δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Μενελάῳ γήμασθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Εὐφορίων Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ Πλευρώνιος Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπη ποιήσαντες, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος, κατὰ ταὐτά φασιν Ἀργείοις Θησέως εἶναι θυγατέρα Ἰφιγένειαν. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς Εἰληθυίας πέραν ἐστὶν Ἑκάτης ναός, Σκόπα δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔργον. τοῦτο μὲν λίθου· τὰ δ' ἀπαντικρὺ χαλκᾶ, Ἑκάτης καὶ ταῦτα ἀγάλματα, τὸ μὲν Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ ἀδελφὸς
8 Πολυκλείτου Ναυκύδης Μόθωνος.[1] ἐρχομένῳ δὲ ὁδὸν εὐθεῖαν ἐς γυμνάσιον Κυλάραβιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ὀνομαζόμενον τοῦ Σθενέλου, τέθαπται δὴ Λικύμνιος ὁ Ἠλεκτρύωνος· ἀποθανεῖν δ' αὐτὸν Ὅμηρος ὑπὸ Τληπτολέμου φησὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ διὰ τὸν φόνον τοῦτον ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἄργους Τληπτόλεμος. ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Κυλάραβιν καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ πύλην ἀποτραπεῖσι Σακάδα μνῆμά ἐστιν, ὃς τὸ αὔλημα τὸ Πυθικὸν πρῶτος ηὔλησεν
9 ἐν Δελφοῖς· καὶ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Ἀπόλλωνι διαμένον ἐς τοὺς αὐλητὰς ἔτι ἀπὸ Μαρσύου καὶ τῆς ἀμίλλης τοῦ Σιληνοῦ παυθῆναι διὰ τοῦτον δοκεῖ τὸν Σακάδαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ Κυλαράβου καὶ Πανία ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶ καλουμένη καὶ τάφον Σθενέλου δεικνύουσι, τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ Κυλαράβου. πεποίηται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ γυμνασίου πολυάνδριον τοῖς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων πλεύσασιν Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει Συρακουσῶν τε καὶ Σικελίας.

XXIII. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐρχομένοις ὁδὸν καλουμένην Κοίλην[2] ναός ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Διονύσου· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶναι λέγουσιν ἐξ Εὐβοίας. συμβάσης

[1] Μεθωναῖος Furtwaengler, νεώτερος Robert.
[2] Κοίλην supplied by Kuhn.

subsequently married Menelaus. And on this matter the poets Euphorion of Chalcis and Alexander of Pleuron, and even before them, Stesichorus of Himera, agree with the Argives in asserting that Iphigenia was the daughter of Theseus. Over against the sanctuary of Eilethyia is a temple of Hecate, and the image is a work of Scopas. This one is of stone, while the bronze images opposite, also of Hecate, were made respectively by Polycleitus[1] and his brother Naucydes, son of Mothon. As you go along a straight road to a gymnasium, called Cylarabis after the son of Sthenelus, you come to the grave of Licymnius, the son of Electryon, who, Homer says, was killed by Tleptolemus, the son of Heracles; for which homicide Tleptolemus was banished from Argos. On turning a little aside from the road to Cylarabis and to the gate there, you come to the tomb of Sacadas, who was the first to play at Delphi the Pythian flute-tune; the hostility of Apollo to flute-players, which had lasted ever since the rivalry of Marsyas the Silenus, is supposed to have stayed because of this Sacadas. In the gymnasium of Cylarabes is an Athena called Pania; they show also the graves of Sthenelus and of Cylarabes himself. Not far from the gymnasium has been built a common grave of those Argives who sailed with the Athenians to enslave Syracuse and Sicily. *c.* 610–550 B.C.

XXIII. As you go from here along a road called Hollow there is on the right a temple of Dionysus; the image, they say, is from Euboea. For when the

[1] It is uncertain who this Polycleitus was or when he lived. He was not the great Polycleitus, and flourished probably after 400 B.C.

γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου, τῆς πρὸς τῷ Καφηρεῖ ναυαγίας, τοὺς δυνηθέντας ἐς τὴν γῆν διαφυγεῖν τῶν Ἀργείων ῥῖγός τε πιέζει καὶ λιμός. εὐξαμένοις δὲ θεῶν τινα ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπόροις γενέσθαι σωτῆρα, αὐτίκα ὡς προήεσαν ἐφάνη σφίσι Διονύσου σπήλαιον, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ· τότε δὲ αἶγες ἄγριαι φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα ἐς αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἠθροισμέναι. ταύτας οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σφάξαντες τά τε κρέα ἐδείπνησαν καὶ δέρμασιν ἐχρήσαντο ἀντὶ ἐσθῆτος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χειμὼν ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἐπισκευάσαντες τὰς ναῦς οἴκαδε ἐκομίζοντο, ἐπάγονται τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου ξόανον· καὶ διατελοῦσιν
2 ἐς τόδε τιμῶντες ἔτι. τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐγγυτάτω οἰκίαν ὄψει τὴν Ἀδράστου καὶ ἀπωτέρω ταύτης ἱερὸν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πέραν Ἐριφύλης μνῆμα. ἔξῃς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέμενος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἱερὸν Βάτωνος. ἦν δὲ ὁ Βάτων γένους Ἀμφιαράῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῶν Μελαμποδιδῶν καὶ ἐς μάχην ἐξιόντι ἡνιόχει τοὺς ἵππους· γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαίων τείχους χάσμα γῆς Ἀμφιάραον καὶ τὸ ἅρμα ὑποδεξάμενον ἠφάνισεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Βάτωνα.
3 Ἐπανιόντι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κοίλης Τρνηθοῦς τάφον λέγουσιν εἶναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ κενὸν καὶ ἄλλως ἐς μνήμην τῆς γυναικός, εἰκότα λέγουσιν· εἰ δὲ τῆς Τρνηθοῦς κεῖσθαι τὸν νεκρὸν νομίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα, ἐγὼ μέν σφισιν οὐ πείθομαι, πειθέσθω δὲ ὅστις
4 τὰ Ἐπιδαυρίων οὐ πέπυσται. τὸ δ' ἐπιφανέ-

Greeks, as they were returning from Troy, met with the shipwreck at Caphereus, those of the Argives who were able to escape to land suffered from cold and hunger. Having prayed that someone of the gods should prove himself a saviour in their present distress, straightway as they advanced they came upon a cave of Dionysus; in the cave was an image of the god, and on this occasion wild she-goats had gathered there to escape from the storm. These the Argives killed, using the flesh as food and the skins as raiment. When the storm was over and the Argives, having refitted their ships, were returning home, they took with them the wooden image from the cave, and continue to honour it to the present day. Very near to the temple of Dionysus you will see the house of Adrastus, farther on a sanctuary of Amphiaraus, and opposite the sanctuary the tomb of Eriphyle. Next to these is a precinct of Asclepius, and after them a sanctuary of Baton. Now Baton belonged to the same family as Amphiaraus, to the Melampodidae, and served as his charioteer when he went forth to battle. When the rout took place at the wall of Thebes, the earth opened and received Amphiaraus and his chariot, swallowing up this Baton at the same time.

Returning from Hollow Street, you see what they say is the grave of Hyrnetho. If they allow that it is merely a cenotaph erected to the memory of the lady, their account is likely enough; but if they believe that the corpse lies here I cannot credit it, and leave anyone to do so who has not learnt the history of Epidaurus. The most famous sanctuary

στατον Ἀργείοις τῶν Ἀσκληπιείων ἄγαλμα ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχει καθήμενον Ἀσκληπιὸν λίθου λευκοῦ, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἕστηκεν Ὑγεία· κάθηνται δὲ καὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες τὰ ἀγάλματα Ξενόφιλος καὶ Στράτων. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ἱδρύσατο Σφῦρος τὸ ἱερόν, Μαχάονος μὲν υἱός, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἀλεξάνορος τοῦ παρὰ Σικυωνίοις ἐν Τιτάνῃ τιμὰς ἔχοντος. τῆς δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Φεραίας—σέβουσι γὰρ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι Φεραίαν Ἄρτεμιν κατὰ ταὐτὰ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Σικυωνίοις—τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ οὗτοί φασιν ἐκ Φερῶν τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κομισθῆναι. τάδε δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁμολογῶ· λέγουσι γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι Δηιανείρας ἐν Ἄργει μνῆμα εἶναι τῆς Οἰνέως τό τε Ἐλέου τοῦ Πριάμου, καὶ ἄγαλμα κεῖσθαι παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἐκκομισθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου καὶ ἁλῶναι ποιῆσαν Ἴλιον. τὸ μὲν δὴ Παλλάδιον—καλεῖται γὰρ οὕτω—δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐς Ἰταλίαν κομισθὲν ὑπὸ Αἰνείου· Δηιανείρᾳ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν περὶ Τραχῖνα ἴσμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐν Ἄργει γενομένην, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τάφος αὐτῇ πλησίον Ἡρακλείας τῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Οἴτῃ. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἕλενον τὸν Πριάμου δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι, μετὰ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἤπειρον καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦσαί τε τοὺς Πύρρου παῖδας συνοικοῦντα Ἀνδρομάχῃ καὶ τὴν Κεστρίνην καλουμένην ἀπὸ Κεστρίνου τοῦ Ἑλένου λαβεῖν τὸ ὄνομα. οὐ μὴν οἰδὲ αὐτῶν λέληθεν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ὅτι μὴ πάντα ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ λέγεταί σφισι, λέγουσι δὲ ὅμως· οὐ γάρ τι ἕτοιμον μεταπεῖσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐναντία ὧν δοξάζουσιν.

ἄλλα δὲ ἐστιν Ἀργείοις θέας ἄξια· κατάγαιον

of Asclepius at Argos contains at the present day a white-marble image of the god seated, and by his side stands Health. There are also seated figures of Xenophilus and Straton, who made the images. The original founder of the sanctuary was Sphyrus, son of Machaon and brother of the Alexanor who is honoured among the Sicyonians in Titane. The Argives, like the Athenians and Sicyonians, worship Artemis Pheraea, and they, too, assert that the image of the goddess was brought from Pherae in Thessaly. But I cannot agree with them when they say that in Argos are the tombs of Deïaneira, the daughter of Oeneus, and of Helenus, son of Priam, and that there is among them the image of Athena that was brought from Troy, thus causing the capture of that city. For the Palladium, as it is called, was manifestly brought to Italy by Aeneas. As to Deïaneira, we know that her death took place near Trachis and not in Argos, and her grave is near Heraclea, at the foot of Mount Oeta. The story of Helenus, son of Priam, I have already given: that he went to Epeirus with Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles; that, wedded to Andromache, he was guardian to the children of Pyrrhus; and that the district called Cestrine received its name from Cestrinus, son of Helenus. Now even the guides of the Argives themselves are aware that their account is not entirely correct. Nevertheless they hold to their opinion, for it is not easy to make the multitude change their views. The Argives have other things worth seeing; for instance, an

οἰκοδόμημα, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ ἦν ὁ χαλκοῦς θάλαμος. ὃν Ἀκρίσιός ποτε ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐποίησε· Περίλαος δὲ καθεῖλεν αὐτὸν τυραννήσας. τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ οἰκοδόμημά ἐστι καὶ Κροτώπου μνῆμα καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς Κρησίου. Περσεῖ γὰρ πολεμήσαντα αὐτὸν καὶ αὖθις ἐλθόντα ἐς λύσιν τοῦ ἔχθους τά τε ἄλλα τιμηθῆναι μεγάλως λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων καὶ τέμενός οἱ δοθῆναι
8 τοῦτο ἐξαίρετον· Κρησίου δὲ ὕστερον ὠνομάσθη, διότι Ἀριάδνην ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔθαψεν ἐνταῦθα. Λυκέας δὲ λέγει κατασκευαζομένου δεύτερον τοῦ ναοῦ κεραμέαν εὑρεθῆναι σορόν, εἶναι δὲ Ἀριάδνης αὐτήν· καὶ αὐτός τε καὶ ἄλλους Ἀργείων ἰδεῖν ἔφη τὴν σορόν. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναός ἐστιν Οὐρανίας.

XXIV. Τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν Λάρισαν μὲν καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελασγοῦ θυγατρός· ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πόλεων, ἥ τε ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἡ παρὰ τὸν Πηνειόν, ὠνομάσθησαν. ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀκραίας Ἥρας τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃν Πυθαεὺς πρῶτος παραγενόμενος ἐκ Δελφῶν λέγεται ποιῆσαι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν χαλκοῦν ἐστιν ὀρθόν, Δειραδιώτης Ἀπόλλων καλούμενος, ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος καλεῖται Δειράς. ἡ δέ οἱ μαντικὴ — μαντεύεται γὰρ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς — καθέστηκε τρόπον τοῦτον. γυνὴ μὲν προφητεύουσά ἐστιν, ἀνδρὸς εὐνῆς εἰργομένη· θυομένης δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ ἀρνὸς κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον, γευσαμένη δὴ τοῦ αἵματος ἡ γυνὴ κάτοχος ἐκ
2 τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται. τοῦ Δειραδιώτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔχεται μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀξυδερκοῦς καλου-

underground building over which was the bronze chamber which Acrisius once made to guard his daughter. Perilaus, however, when he became tyrant, pulled it down. Besides this building there is the tomb of Crotopus and a temple of Cretan Dionysus. For they say that the god, having made war on Perseus, afterwards laid aside his enmity, and received great honours at the hands of the Argives, including this precinct set specially apart for himself. It was afterwards called the precinct of the Cretan god, because, when Ariadne died, Dionysus buried her here. But Lyceas says that when the temple was being rebuilt an earthenware coffin was found, and that it was Ariadne's. He also said that both he himself and other Argives had seen it. Near the temple of Dionysus is a temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.

XXIV. The citadel they call Larisa, after the daughter of Pelasgus. After her were also named two of the cities in Thessaly, the one by the sea and the one on the Peneüs. As you go up the citadel you come to the sanctuary of Hera of the Height, and also a temple of Apollo, which is said to have been first built by Pythaeus when he came from Delphi. The present image is a bronze standing figure called Apollo Deiradiotes, because this place, too, is called Deiras (*Ridge*). Oracular responses are still given here, and the oracle acts in the following way. There is a woman who prophesies, being debarred from intercourse with a man. Every month a lamb is sacrificed at night, and the woman, after tasting the blood, becomes inspired by the god. Adjoining the temple of Apollo Deiradiotes is a sanctuary of Athena Oxyderces (*Sharp-sighted*), dedicated by

μένης, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα, ὅτι οἱ μαχομένῳ ποτὲ ἐν Ἰλίῳ τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀφεῖλεν ἡ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν· ἔχεται δὲ τὸ στάδιον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ Νεμείῳ Διὶ καὶ τὰ Ἡραῖα ἄγουσιν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσίν ἐστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν Αἰγύπτου παίδων καὶ ταύτῃ μνῆμα. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἐνταῦθα αἱ κεφαλαί, χωρὶς δὲ ἐν Λέρνῃ σώματα τὰ λοιπά· ἐν Λέρνῃ γὰρ καὶ ὁ φόνος ἐξειργάσθη τῶν νεανίσκων, ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἀποτέμνουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπόδειξιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὧν
3 ἐτόλμησαν. ἐπ' ἄκρᾳ δέ ἐστι τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπίκλησιν Λαρισαίου ναός, οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξύλου πεποιημένον οὐκέτι ἑστηκὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ναός ἐστι θέας ἄξιος· ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κεῖται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Ζεὺς ξόανον, δύο μὲν ἢ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. τοῦτον τὸν Δία Πριάμῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ Λαομέδοντος πατρῷον ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς αὐλῆς ἱδρυμένον, καὶ ὅτε ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἴλιον, ἐπὶ τούτου κατέφυγεν ὁ Πρίαμος τὸν βωμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ λάφυρα ἐνέμοντο, λαμβάνει Σθένελος ὁ Καπανέως αὐτόν,
4 καὶ ἀνάκειται μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα· τρεῖς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄν τις τεκμαίροιτο αὐτόν. Δία γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλεύειν, οὗτος μὲν λόγος κοινὸς πάντων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. ὃν δὲ ἄρχειν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἔστιν ἔπος τῶν Ὁμήρου Δία ὀνομάζον καὶ τοῦτον·

Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια.

Αἰσχύλος δὲ ὁ Εὐφορίωνος καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν

Diomedes, because once when he was fighting at Troy the goddess removed the mist from his eyes. Adjoining it is the race-course, in which they hold the games in honour of Nemean Zeus and the festival of Hera. As you go to the citadel there is on the left of the road another tomb of the children of Aegyptus. For here are the heads apart from the bodies, which are at Lerna. For it was at Lerna that the youths were murdered, and when they were dead their wives cut off their heads, to prove to their father that they had done the dreadful deed. On the top of Larisa is a temple of Zeus, surnamed Larisaean, which has no roof; the wooden image I found no longer standing upon its pedestal. There is also a temple of Athena worth seeing. Here are placed votive offerings, including a wooden image of Zeus, which has two eyes in the natural place and a third on its forehead. This Zeus, they say, was a paternal god of Priam, the son of Laomedon, set up in the uncovered part of his court, and when Troy was taken by the Greeks Priam took sanctuary at the altar of this god. When the spoils were divided, Sthenelus, the son of Capaneus, received the image, and for this reason it has been dedicated here. The reason for its three eyes one might infer to be this. That Zeus is king in heaven is a saying common to all men. As for him who is said to rule under the earth, there is a verse of Homer[1] which calls him, too, Zeus:—

> "Zeus of the Underworld, and the august Persephonea."

The god in the sea, also, is called Zeus by Aeschylus,

[1] *Iliad* ix. 457.

θαλάσσῃ. τρισὶν οὖν ὁρῶντα ἐποίησεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅστις δὴ ἦν ὁ ποιήσας, ἅτε ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις λήξεσιν ἄρχοντα τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεόν.

5 Ὁδοὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἄργους καὶ κατ' ἄλλα εἰσὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς Ἀρκαδίας ἐπὶ Τεγέαν. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἡ Λυκώνη, δένδρα κυπαρίσσου μάλιστα ἔχουσα. ᾠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρθίας ἱερόν, καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος πεποίηται λευκοῦ λίθου· Πολυκλείτου δέ φασιν εἶναι ἔργα. καταβάντων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους αὖθίς ἐστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος.

6 ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Χάον ἐστὶν ὄρος ὀνομαζόμενον, ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτῷ δένδρα πέφυκεν ἥμερα καὶ ἄνεισι τοῦ Ἐρασίνου φανερὸν ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ· τέως δὲ ἐκ Στυμφάλου ῥεῖ τῆς Ἀρκάδων ὥσπερ ἐξ Εὐρίπου κατὰ Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ θάλασσαν οἱ Ῥειτοί. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἐρασίνου ταῖς κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐκβολαῖς Διονύσῳ καὶ Πανὶ θύουσι, τῷ Διονύσῳ δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν

7 ἄγουσι καλουμένην Τύρβην. ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Τεγέας ὁδόν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Τρόχου Κεγχρεαί. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' ὅτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ γέγονεν, οὐ λέγουσι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἄρα ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὸν Πειρήνης παῖδα Κεγχρίαν. καὶ πολυάνδρια ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν Ἀργείων νικησάντων μάχῃ Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ Τσιάς. τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα τοῦτον συμβάντα εὕρισκον Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος Πεισιστράτου, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἣν Εὐρύβοτος Ἀθηναῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. κατα-

the son of Euphorion. So whoever made the image made it with three eyes, as signifying that this same god rules in all the three "allotments" of the Universe, as they are called.

From Argos are roads to various parts of the Peloponnesus, including one to Tegea on the side towards Arcadia. On the right is Mount Lycone, which has trees on it, chiefly cypresses. On the top of the mountain is built a sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (*of the Steep*), and there have been made white-marble images of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, which they say are works of Polycleitus. On descending again from the mountain you see on the left of the highway a temple of Artemis. A little farther on there is on the right of the road a mountain called Chaon. At its foot grow cultivated trees, and here the water of the Erasinus rises to the surface. Up to this point it flows from Stymphalus in Arcadia, just as the Rheiti, near the sea at Eleusis, flow from the Euripus. At the places where the Erasinus gushes forth from the mountain they sacrifice to Dionysus and to Pan, and to Dionysus they also hold a festival called Tyrbe (*Throng*). On returning to the road that leads to Tegea you see Cenchreae on the right of what is called the Wheel. Why the place received this name they do not say. Perhaps in this case also it was Cenchrias, son of Peirene, that caused it to be so called. Here are common graves of the Argives who conquered the Lacedaemonians in battle at Hysiae. This fight took place, I discovered, when Peisistratus was archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad, in which the Athenian, Eurybotus, won the foot-race. 669–8 B.C.

βάντος δὲ ἐς τὸ χθαμαλώτερον ἐρείπια Ὑσιῶν ἐστι πόλεώς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι, καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν.

XXV. Ἡ δ' ἐς Μαντίνειαν ἄγουσα ἐξ Ἄργους ἐστὶν οὐχ ἥπερ καὶ ἐπὶ Τεγέαν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Δειράδι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἱερὸν διπλοῦν πεποίηται, καὶ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἔσοδον καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἑτέραν ἔχον. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης κεῖται ξόανον, πρὸς δὲ ἡλίου δυσμὰς Ἄρεως· εἶναι δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα Πολυνείκους λέγουσιν ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἀργείων, ὅσοι τιμωρήσοντες αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο. 2 προελθοῦσι δὲ αὐτόθεν διαβάντων ποταμὸν χείμαρρον Χάραδρον καλούμενον ἔστιν Οἰνόη, τὸ ὄνομα ἔχουσα, ὡς Ἀργεῖοί φασιν, ἀπὸ Οἰνέως. Οἰνέα γὰρ τὸν βασιλεύσαντα ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγρίου παίδων ἐκβληθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς παρὰ Διομήδην ἐς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐτιμώρησεν αὐτῷ στρατεύσας ἐς τὴν Καλυδωνίαν, παραμένειν δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἱ δύνασθαι· συνακολουθεῖν δέ, εἰ βούλοιτο, ἐς Ἄργος ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευεν. ἀφικόμενον δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ἐθεράπευεν, ὡς πατρὸς θεραπεύειν πατέρα εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψεν ἐνταῦθα. ἀπὸ 3 τούτου μὲν Οἰνόη χωρίον ἐστὶν Ἀργείοις· ὑπὲρ δὲ Οἰνόης ὄρος ἐστὶν Ἀρτεμίσιον καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους. ἐν τούτῳ δέ εἰσι τῷ ὄρει καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Ἰνάχου· πηγαὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ ὄντι εἰσὶν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξικνεῖται τῆς γῆς.

4 Ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ θέας οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν ἄξιον· ἑτέρα δὲ

On coming down to a lower level you reach the ruins of Hysiae, which once was a city in Argolis, and here it is that they say the Lacedaemonians suffered their reverse.

XXV. The road from Argos to Mantinea is not the same as that to Tegea, but begins from the gate at the Ridge. On this road is a sanctuary built with two rooms, having an entrance on the west side and another on the east. At the latter is a wooden image of Aphrodite, and at the west entrance one of Ares. They say that the images are votive offerings of Polyneices and of the Argives who joined him in the campaign to redress his wrongs. Farther on from here, across the torrent called Charadrus (*Gully*), is Oenoë, named, the Argives say, after Oeneus. The story is that Oeneus, who was king in Aetolia, on being driven from his throne by the sons of Agrius, took refuge with Diomedes at Argos, who aided him by an expedition into Calydonia, but said that he could not remain with him, and urged Oeneus to accompany him, if he wished, to Argos. When he came, he gave him all the attention that it was right to give a father's father, and on his death buried him here. After him the Argives name the place Oenoë. Above Oenoë is Mount Artemisius, with a sanctuary of Artemis on the top. On this mountain are also the springs of the river Inachus. For it really has springs, though the water does not run far.

Here I found nothing else that is worth seeing.

ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Δειράδι ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Λύρκειαν. ἐς τοῦτο λέγεται τὸ χωρίον Λυγκέα ἀποσωθῆναι τῶν πεντήκοντα ἀδελφῶν μόνον· καὶ ἡνίκα ἐσώθη, πυρσὸν ἀνέσχεν ἐντεῦθεν. συνέκειτο δὲ ἄρα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν Ὑπερμήστραν ἀνασχεῖν τὸν πυρσόν, ἣν διαφυγὼν Δαναὸν ἐς ἀσφαλὲς ἀφίκηταί ποι· τὴν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀναίψαι λέγουσιν ἕτερον ἀπὸ τῆς Λαρίσης, δῆλα καὶ ταύτην ποιοῦσαν ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ καθέστηκεν ἔτι κινδύνῳ. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον πυρσῶν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τότε μὲν Λυγκείαν ἐκαλεῖτο, οἰκήσαντος δὲ ὕστερον ἐν αὐτῷ Λύρκου—παῖς δὲ ἦν Ἄβαντος νόθος—τὸ ὄνομα δι' αὐτὸν ἔσχηκε· καὶ ἄλλα τέ ἐστιν οὐκ ἀξιόλογα ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις καὶ εἰκὼν ἐπὶ στήλῃ τοῦ Λύρκου. ἐς μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἐστὶν ἐξ Ἄργους ἑξήκοντα μάλιστά που στάδια, ἐκ δὲ Λυρκείας ἕτερα τοσαῦτα ἐς Ὀρνειάς. Λυρκείας μὲν δὴ πόλεως, ἅτε ἠρημωμένης ἤδη κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων στρατείαν ἐπὶ Ἴλιον, οὐκ ἐποιήσατο Ὅμηρος ἐν καταλόγῳ μνείαν· Ὀρνειὰς δέ—ἔτι γὰρ ᾠκοῦντο—, ὥσπερ τῷ τόπῳ τῆς Ἀργείας ἔκειντο, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι προτέρας ἢ Φλιοῦντά τε καὶ Σικυῶνα κατέλεξεν. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ ἀπὸ Ὀρνέως τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως· τοῦ δὲ Ὀρνέως ἦν τούτου Πετεώς, τοῦ δὲ Μενεσθεύς, ὃς Ἀγαμέμνονι μετὰ Ἀθηναίων τὴν Πριάμου συγκαθεῖλεν ἀρχήν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῇ πόλει, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Ὀρνεάτας ἀνέστησαν· ἀναστάντες δὲ σύνοικοι γεγόνασιν Ἀργείοις. ἔστι δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ὀρνεαῖς Ἀρτέμιδός τε ἱερὸν καὶ ξόανον ὀρθὸν καὶ ἕτερος ναὸς θεοῖς

There is another road, that leads to Lyrcea from the gate at the Ridge. The story is that to this place came Lynceus, being the only one of the fifty brothers to escape death, and that on his escape he raised a beacon here. Now to raise the beacon was the signal he had agreed with Hypermnestra to give if he should escape Danaus and reach a place of safety. She also, they say, lighted a beacon on Larisa as a sign that she too was now out of danger. For this reason the Argives hold every year a beacon festival. At the first the place was called Lyncea; its present name is derived from Lyrcus, a bastard son of Abas, who afterwards dwelt there. Among the ruins are several things not worth mentioning, besides a figure of Lyrcus upon a slab. The distance from Argos to Lyrcea is about sixty stades, and the distance from Lyrcea to Orneae is the same. Homer in the Catalogue makes no mention of the city Lyrcea, because at the time of the Greek expedition against Troy it already lay deserted; Orneae, however, was inhabited, and in his poem he places it[1] on the list before Phlius and Sicyon, which order corresponds to the position of the towns in the Argive territory. The name is derived from Orneus, the son of Erechtheus. This Orneus begat Peteos, and Peteos begat Menestheus, who, with a body of Athenians, helped Agamemnon to destroy the kingdom of Priam. From him then did Orneae get its name, and afterwards the Argives removed all its citizens, who thereupon came to live at Argos. At Orneae are a sanctuary and an upright wooden image of Artemis; there is besides a temple devoted to all

[1] *Iliad* ii. 571.

πᾶσιν ἐς κοινὸν ἀνειμένος. τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Ὀρνεῶν ἤ τε Σικυωνία καὶ ἡ Φλιασία ἐστίν.

7 Ἐρχομένοις δὲ ἐξ Ἄργους ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἐστὶν οἰκοδόμημα ἐν δεξιᾷ πυραμίδι μάλιστα εἰκασμένον, ἔχει δὲ ἀσπίδας σχῆμα Ἀργολικὰς ἐπειργασμένας. ἐνταῦθα Προίτῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς Ἀκρίσιον μάχη γίνεται, καὶ τέλος μὲν ἴσον τῷ ἀγῶνι συμβῆναί φασι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διαλλαγὰς ὕστερον, ὡς οὐδέτεροι βεβαίως κρατεῖν ἐδύναντο· συμβάλλειν δὲ σφᾶς λέγουσιν ἀσπίσι πρῶτον τότε καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ὡπλισμένους. τοῖς δὲ πεσοῦσιν ἀφ' ἑκατέρων—πολῖται γὰρ καὶ συγγενεῖς ἦσαν—ἐποιήθη ταύτῃ μνῆμα ἐν κοινῷ.

8 Προϊοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰν Τίρυνθός ἐστιν ἐρείπια. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Τιρυνθίους Ἀργεῖοι, συνοίκους προσλαβεῖν καὶ τὸ Ἄργος ἐπαυξῆσαι θελήσαντες. Τίρυνθα δὲ ἥρωα, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, παῖδα Ἄργου τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος, ὃ δὴ μόνον τῶν ἐρειπίων λείπεται, Κυκλώπων μέν ἐστιν ἔργον, πεποίηται δὲ ἀργῶν λίθων, μέγεθος ἔχων ἕκαστος λίθος ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μηδ' ἂν ἀρχὴν κινηθῆναι τὸν μικρότατον ὑπὸ ζεύγους ἡμιόνων· λιθία δὲ ἐνήρμοσται πάλαι, ὡς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἁρμονίαν τοῖς μεγάλοις λίθοις εἶναι.

9 καταβάντων δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ θάλαμοι τῶν Προίτου θυγατέρων εἰσίν· ἐπανελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον, ἐπὶ Μήδειαν ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἥξεις. βασιλεῦσαι δέ φασιν Ἠλεκτρύωνα ἐν τῇ Μηδείᾳ τὸν πατέρα Ἀλκμήνης· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ Μηδείας πλὴν τὸ ἔδαφος ἄλλο οὐδὲν

the gods in common. On the further side of Orneae are Sicyonia and Phliasia.

On the way from Argos to Epidauria there is on the right a building made very like a pyramid, and on it in relief are wrought shields of the Argive shape. Here took place a fight for the throne between Proetus and Acrisius; the contest, they say, ended in a draw, and a reconciliation resulted afterwards, as neither could gain a decisive victory. The story is that they and their hosts were armed with shields, which were first used in this battle. For those that fell on either side was built here a common tomb, as they were fellow citizens and kinsmen.

Going on from here and turning to the right, you come to the ruins of Tiryns. The Tirynthians also were removed by the Argives, who wished to make Argos more powerful by adding to the population. The hero Tiryns, from whom the city derived its name, is said to have been a son of Argus, a son of Zeus. The wall, which is the only part of the ruins still remaining, is a work of the Cyclopes made of unwrought stones, each stone being so big that a pair of mules could not move the smallest from its place to the slightest degree. Long ago small stones were so inserted that each of them binds the large blocks firmly together. Going down seawards, you come to the chambers of the daughters of Proetus. On returning to the highway you will reach Medea on the left hand. They say that Electryon, the father of Alcmena, was king of Medea, but in my time nothing was left of it except

ἐλείπετο. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον εὐθεῖάν
10 ἐστι κώμη Λῆσσα, ναὸς δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ
ξόανον οὐδέν τι διάφορον ἢ τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇ
Λαρίσῃ. ἔστι δὲ ὄρος ὑπὲρ τῆς Λήσσης τὸ Ἀρα-
χναῖον, πάλαι δὲ σάπυς ἐλάτων [1] ἐπὶ Ἰνάχου τὸ
ὄνομα εἰλήφει. βωμοὶ δέ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῷ Διός τε
καὶ Ἥρας· δεῆσαν ὄμβρου σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα θύουσι.

XXVI. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Λῆσσαν ἔχεται τῆς
Ἀργείας ἡ Ἐπιδαυρίων· πρὶν δὲ ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν
γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀφίξῃ τοῦ
Ἀσκληπιοῦ. ταύτην τὴν χώραν οὐκ οἶδα οἵτινες
πρότερον ᾤκησαν πρὶν Ἐπίδαυρον ἐλθεῖν ἐς
αὐτήν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Ἐπιδαύρου
πυθέσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐδυνάμην. τε-
λευταῖον δὲ πρὶν ἢ παραγενέσθαι Δωριέας ἐς
Πελοπόννησον βασιλεῦσαί φασι Πιτυρέα Ἴωνος
ἀπόγονον τοῦ Ξούθου. τοῦτον παραδοῦναι λέ-
γουσιν ἀμαχεὶ τὴν γῆν Δηιφόντῃ καὶ Ἀργείοις·
2 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀθήνας ὁμοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀφικό-
μενος ἐνταῦθα ᾤκησε, Δηιφόντης δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι
τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἔσχον. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ οὗτοι
τῶν ἄλλων Ἀργείων Τημένου τελευτήσαντος,
Δηιφόντης μὲν καὶ Τρινηθὼ κατ' ἔχθος τῶν
Τημένου παίδων, ὁ δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς στρατὸς Δηι-
φόντῃ καὶ Τρινηθοῖ πλέον ἢ Κείσῳ καὶ τοῖς
ἀδελφοῖς νέμοντες. Ἐπίδαυρος δέ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ
ὄνομα τῇ γῇ ἐτέθη, ὡς μέν φασιν Ἠλεῖοι, Πέ-
λοπος ἦν· κατὰ δὲ Ἀργείων δόξαν καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰς
μεγάλας Ἠοίας ἦν Ἐπιδαύρῳ πατὴρ Ἄργος ὁ
Διός· Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐπίδαυρον
3 παῖδα προσποιοῦσιν. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἱερὰν μά-

[1] Text corrupt.

the foundations. On the straight road to Epidaurus is a village Lessa, in which is a temple of Athena with a wooden image exactly like the one on the citadel Larisa. Above Lessa is Mount Arachnaeus, which long ago, in the time of Inachus, was named Sapyselaton.[1] On it are altars to Zeus and Hera. When rain is needed they sacrifice to them here.

XXVI. At Lessa the Argive territory joins that of Epidaurus. But before you reach Epidaurus itself you will come to the sanctuary of Asclepius. Who dwelt in this land before Epidaurus came to it I do not know, nor could I discover from the natives the descendants of Epidaurus either. But the last king before the Dorians arrived in the Peloponnesus was, they say, Pityreus, a descendant of Ion, son of Xuthus, and they relate that he handed over the land to Deïphontes and the Argives without a struggle. He went to Athens with his people and dwelt there, while Deïphontes and the Argives took possession of Epidauria. These on the death of Temenus seceded from the other Argives; Deïphontes and Hyrnetho through hatred of the sons of Temenus, and the army with them, because it respected Deïphontes and Hyrnetho more than Ceisus and his brothers. Epidaurus, who gave the land its name, was, the Eleans say, a son of Pelops; but, according to Argive opinion and the poem the *Great Eoeae*,[2] the father of Epidaurus was Argus, son of Zeus, while the Epidaurians maintain that Epidaurus was the child of Apollo. That the land is especially sacred to Asclepius is due to

[1] See opposite page.
[2] A poem attributed to Hesiod.

λιστα εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ λόγῳ συμβέβηκε τοιῷδε. Φλεγύαν Ἐπιδαύριοί φασιν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον πρόφασιν μὲν ἐπὶ θέᾳ τῆς χώρας, ἔργῳ δὲ κατάσκοπον πλήθους τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ εἰ τὸ πολὺ μάχιμον εἴη τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἦν γὰρ δὴ Φλεγύας πολεμικώτατος τῶν τότε καὶ ἐπιὼν ἑκάστοτε ἐφ' οὓς τύχοι τοὺς καρποὺς ἔφερε καὶ
4 ἤλαυνε τὴν λείαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεγένετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον, εἵπετο ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ, λεληθυῖα ἔτι τὸν πατέρα ὅτι ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος εἶχεν ἐν γαστρί. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἔτεκεν, ἐκτίθησι τὸν παῖδα ἐς τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ὃ δὴ Τίτθιον ὀνομάζουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Μύρτιον· ἐκκειμένῳ δὲ ἐδίδου μέν οἱ γαλα μία τῶν περὶ τὸ ὄρος ποιμαινομένων αἰγῶν, ἐφύλασσε δὲ ὁ κύων
5 ὁ τοῦ αἰπολίου φρουρός. Ἀρεσθάνας δὲ—ὄνομα γὰρ τῷ ποιμένι τούτῳ ἦν—ὡς τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐχ εὕρισκεν ὁμολογοῦντα τῶν αἰγῶν καὶ ὁ κύων ἅμα ἀπεστάτει τῆς ποίμνης, οὕτω τὸν Ἀρεσθάναν ἐς πᾶν φασιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι ζητήσεως, εὑρύντα δὲ ἐπιθυμῆσαι τὸν παῖδα ἀνελέσθαι· καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐγίνετο, ἀστραπὴν ἰδεῖν ἐκλάμψασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδός, νομίσαντα δὲ εἶναι θεῖόν τι, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἀποτραπέσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν πᾶσαν ἠγγέλλετο τά τε ἄλλα ὁπόσα βούλοιτο εὑρίσκειν ἐπὶ τοῖς κάμνουσι καὶ ὅτι ἀνίστησι
6 τεθνεῶτας. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, Κορωνίδα κύουσαν Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἴσχυι τῷ Ἐλάτου συγγενέσθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀμυνομένης τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὕβρεως, ἐξιμμένης δὲ ἤδη τῆς πυρᾶς ἁρπάσαι
7 λέγεται τὸν παῖδα Ἑρμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς φλογός. ὁ

the following reason. The Epidaurians say that Phlegyas came to the Peloponnesus, ostensibly to see the land, but really to spy out the number of the inhabitants, and whether the greater part of them was warlike. For Phlegyas was the greatest soldier of his time, and making forays in all directions he carried off the crops and lifted the cattle. When he went to the Peloponnesus, he was accompanied by his daughter, who all along had kept hidden from her father that she was with child by Apollo. In the country of the Epidaurians she bore a son, and exposed him on the mountain called Nipple at the present day, but then named Myrtium. As the child lay exposed he was given milk by one of the goats that pastured about the mountain, and was guarded by the watch-dog of the herd. And when Aresthanas (for this was the herdsman's name) discovered that the tale of the goats was not full, and that the watch-dog also was absent from the herd, he left, they say, no stone unturned, and on finding the child desired to take him up. As he drew near, he saw lightning that flashed from the child, and, thinking that it was something divine, as in fact it was, he turned away. Presently it was reported over every land and sea that Asclepius was discovering everything he wished to heal the sick, and that he was raising dead men to life. There is also another tradition concerning him. Coronis, they say, when with child with Asclepius, had intercourse with Ischys, son of Elatus. She was killed by Artemis to punish her for the insult done to Apollo, but when the pyre was already lighted Hermes is said to have snatched the child from the

δὲ τρίτος τῶν λόγων ἥκιστα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀληθής ἐστιν, Ἀρσινόης ποιήσας εἶναι τῆς Λευκίππου παῖδα Ἀσκληπιόν. Ἀπολλοφάνει γὰρ τῷ Ἀρκάδι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐλθόντι καὶ ἐρομένῳ τὸν θεὸν εἰ γένοιτο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ Μεσσηνίοις πολίτης εἴη, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία·

> Ὦ μέγα χάρμα βροτοῖς βλαστὼν Ἀσκληπιὲ πᾶσιν,
> ὃν Φλεγυηὶς ἔτικτεν ἐμοὶ φιλότητι μιγεῖσα
> ἱμερόεσσα Κορωνὶς ἐνὶ κραναῇ Ἐπιδαύρῳ.

οὗτος ὁ χρησμὸς δηλοῖ μάλιστα οὐκ ὄντα Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἀρσινόης, ἀλλὰ Ἡσίοδον ἢ τῶν τινα ἐμπεποιηκότων ἐς τὰ Ἡσιόδου τὰ ἔπη συνθέντα
8 ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίων χάριν. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τὸν θεὸν γενέσθαι· τὰ γὰρ Ἀσκληπιεῖα εὑρίσκω τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα γεγονότα ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς τελετῆς λέγοντες Ἀσκληπιῷ μεταδοῦναι, τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην Ἐπιδαύρια ὀνομάζουσι καὶ θεὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνου φασὶν Ἀσκληπιὸν σφισι νομισθῆναι· τοῦτο δὲ Ἀρχίας ὁ Ἀριστάίχμου, τὸ συμβὰν σπάσμα θηρεύοντί οἱ περὶ τὸν Πίνδασον ἰαθεὶς ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ, τὸν θεὸν ἐπηγάγετο ἐς Πέρ-
9 γαμον. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περγαμηνῶν Σμυρναίοις γέγονεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀσκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ. τὸ δ' ἐν Βαλάγραις ταῖς Κυρηναίων ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιὸς καλούμενος Ἰατρὸς ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ οὗτος. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παρὰ Κυρηναίοις τὸ ἐν Λεβήνῃ

flames. The third account is, in my opinion, the farthest from the truth; it makes Asclepius to be the son of Arsinoë, the daughter of Leucippus. For when Apollophanes, the Arcadian, came to Delphi and asked the god if Asclepius was the son of Arsinoë and therefore a Messenian, the Pythian priestess gave this response:—

"O Asclepius, born to bestow great joy upon mortals,
Pledge of the mutual love I enjoyed with Phlegyas' daughter,
Lovely Coronis, who bare thee in rugged land, Epidaurus."

This oracle makes it quite certain that Asclepius was not a son of Arsinoë, and that the story was a fiction invented by Hesiod, or by one of Hesiod's interpolators, just to please the Messenians. There is other evidence that the god was born in Epidaurus; for I find that the most famous sanctuaries of Asclepius had their origin from Epidaurus. In the first place, the Athenians, who say that they gave a share of their mystic rites to Asclepius, call this day of the festival Epidauria, and they allege that their worship of Asclepius dates from then. Again, when Archias, son of Aristaechmus, was healed in Epidauria after spraining himself while hunting about Pindasus, he brought the cult to Pergamus. From the one at Pergamus has been built in our own day the sanctuary of Asclepius by the sea at Smyrna. Further, at Balagrae of the Cyreneans there is an Asclepius called Healer, who like the others came from Epidaurus. From the one at Cyrene was founded the sanctuary of Asclepius

τῇ Κρητῶν ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιεῖον. διάφορον δὲ Κυρηναίοις τοσόνδε ἐς Ἐπιδαυρίους ἐστίν, ὅτι αἶγας οἱ Κυρηναῖοι θύουσιν, Ἐπιδαυρίοις οὐ
10 καθεστηκότος. θεὸν δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν νομισθέντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ οὐκ ἀνὰ χρόνον λαβόντα τὴν φήμην τεκμηρίοις καὶ ἄλλοις εὑρίσκω καὶ Ὁμήρου μαρτυρεῖ μοι τὰ περὶ Μαχάονος ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος εἰρημένα

Ταλθύβι', ὅττι τάχιστα Μαχάονα δεῦρο κάλεσσον
φῶτ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱόν,

ὡς ἂν εἰ λέγοι θεοῦ παῖδα ἄνθρωπον.

XXVII. Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἄλσος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ περιέχουσιν ὅροι παντα χόθεν· οὐδὲ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ τίκτουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες σφισιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου, καθὰ καὶ ἐπὶ Δήλῳ τῇ νήσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον. τὰ δὲ θυόμενα, ἢν τέ τις Ἐπιδαυρίων αὐτῶν ἢν τε ξένος ὁ θύων ᾖ, καταναλίσκουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν ὅρων· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ
2 γινόμενον οἶδα καὶ ἐν Τιτάνῃ. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα μεγέθει μὲν τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἥμισυ ἀποδεῖ, πεποίηται δὲ ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ· μηνύει δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸν εἰργασμένον εἶναι Θρασυμήδην Ἀριγνώτου Πάριον. κάθηται δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνου βακτηρίαν κρατῶν, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἔχει τοῦ δράκοντος, καί οἱ καὶ κύων παρακατακείμενος πεποίηται. τῷ θρόνῳ δὲ ἡρώων ἐπειργασμένα Ἀργείων ἐστὶν ἔργα, Βελλεροφόντου τὸ ἐς τὴν Χίμαιραν καὶ Περσεὺς ἀφελὼν τὴν

at Lebene, in Crete. There is this difference between the Cyreneans and the Epidaurians, that whereas the former sacrifice goats, it is against the custom of the Epidaurians to do so. That Asclepius was considered a god from the first, and did not receive the title only in course of time, I infer from several signs, including the evidence of Homer,[1] who makes Agamemnon say about Machaon :—

"Talthybius, with all speed go summon me hither Machaon,
Mortal son of Asclepius."

As who should say, "human son of a god."

XXVII. The sacred grove of Asclepius is surrounded on all sides by boundary marks. No death or birth takes place within the enclosure ; the same custom prevails also in the island of Delos. All the offerings, whether the offerer be one of the Epidaurians themselves or a stranger, are entirely consumed within the bounds. At Titane too, I know, there is the same rule. The image of Asclepius is, in size, half as big as the Olympian Zeus at Athens, and is made of ivory and gold. An inscription tells us that the artist was Thrasymedes, a Parian, son of Arignotus. The god is sitting on a seat grasping a staff; the other hand he is holding above the head of the serpent; there is also a figure of a dog lying by his side. On the seat are wrought in relief the exploits of Argive heroes, that of Bellerophontes against the Chimaera, and Perseus, who has cut off the head of

[1] *Iliad* iv. 193.

Μεδούσης κεφαλήν. τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστι πέραν
3 ἔνθα οἱ ἱκέται τοῦ θεοῦ καθεύδουσιν. οἴκημα
δὲ περιφερὲς λίθου λευκοῦ καλούμενον Θόλος
ᾠκοδόμηται πλησίον, θέας ἄξιον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ
Παυσίου γράψαντος βέλη μὲν καὶ τόξον ἐστὶν
ἀφεικὼς Ἔρως, λύραν δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἁράμενος
φέρει. γέγραπται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μέθη, Παυ-
σίου καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον, ἐξ ὑαλίνης φιάλης πίνουσα·
ἴδοις δὲ κἂν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ φιάλην τε ὑάλου καὶ
δι' αὐτῆς γυναικὸς πρόσωπον. στῆλαι δὲ εἱστή-
κεσαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον καὶ
πλέονες, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἓξ λοιπαί· ταύταις ἐγγεγραμ-
μένα καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστιν ὀνόματα
ἀκεσθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, προσέτι δὲ
καὶ νόσημα ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἐνόσησε καὶ ὅπως ἰάθη·
4 γέγραπται δὲ φωνῇ τῇ Δωρίδι. χωρὶς δὲ ἀπὸ
τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἀρχαία στήλη· ἵππους δὲ
Ἱππόλυτον ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ φησιν εἴκοσι.
ταύτης τῆς στήλης τῷ ἐπιγράμματι ὁμολογοῦντα
λέγουσιν Ἀρικιεῖς, ὡς τεθνεῶτα Ἱππόλυτον ἐκ
τῶν Θησέως ἀρῶν ἀνέστησεν Ἀσκληπιός· ὁ δὲ
ὡς αὖθις ἐβίω, οὐκ ἠξίου νέμειν τῷ πατρὶ
συγγνώμην, ἀλλὰ ὑπεριδὼν τὰς δεήσεις ἐς Ἰτα-
λίαν ἔρχεται παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρικιεῖς, καὶ ἐβασίλευσέ
τε αὐτόθι καὶ ἀνῆκε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τέμενος, ἔνθα
ἄχρι ἐμοῦ μονομαχίας ἆθλα ἦν καὶ ἱερᾶσθαι τῇ
θεῷ τὸν νικῶντα· ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ἐλευθέρων μὲν προ-
έκειτο οὐδενί, οἰκέταις δὲ ἀποδρᾶσι τοὺς δεσπότας.
5 Ἐπιδαυρίοις δέ ἐστι θέατρον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μάλιστα
ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν θέας ἄξιον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων
πολὺ δή τι ὑπερῆρκε τῶν πανταχοῦ τῷ κόσμῳ,
μεγέθει δὲ Ἀρκάδων τὸ ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει· ἀρ-

Medusa. Over against the temple is the place where the suppliants of the god sleep. Near has been built a circular building of white marble, called *Tholos* (Round House), which is worth seeing. In it is a picture by Pausias[1] representing Love, who has cast aside his bow and arrows, and is carrying instead of them a lyre that he has taken up. Here there is also another work of Pausias, Drunkenness drinking out of a crystal cup. You can see even in the painting a crystal cup and a woman's face through it. Within the enclosure stood slabs; in my time six remained, but of old there were more. On them are inscribed the names of both the men and the women who have been healed by Asclepius, the disease also from which each suffered, and the means of cure. The dialect is Doric. Apart from the others is an old slab, which declares that Hippolytus dedicated twenty horses to the god. The Aricians tell a tale that agrees with the inscription on this slab, that when Hippolytus was killed, owing to the curses of Theseus, Asclepius raised him from the dead. On coming to life again he refused to forgive his father; rejecting his prayers, he went to the Aricians in Italy. There he became king and devoted a precinct to Artemis, where down to my time the prize for the victor in single combat was the priesthood of the goddess. The contest was open to no freeman, but only to slaves who had run away from their masters. The Epidaurians have a theatre within the sanctuary, in my opinion very well worth seeing. For while the Roman theatres are far superior to those anywhere else in their splendour, and the Arcadian theatre at Megalo-

[1] A famous painter of Sicyon.

μονίας δὲ ἡ κάλλους ἕνεκα ἀρχιτέκτων ποῖος ἐς ἄμιλλαν Πολυκλείτῳ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀξιόχρεως: Πολυκλειτος γὰρ καὶ θέατρον τοῦτο καὶ οἴκημα τὸ περιφερὲς ὁ ποιήσας ἦν. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους ναός τε ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἡπιόνης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ στάδιον, οἷα Ἕλλησι τὰ πολλὰ γῆς χῶμα, καὶ κρήνη τῷ τε
6 ὀρόφῳ καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ θέας ἀξία. ὁπόσα δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀνὴρ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν, ἔστι μὲν Ἀσκληπιοῦ λουτρόν, ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν θεῶν οὓς Ἐπιδώτας ὀνομάζουσιν· ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Ὑγείᾳ ναὸν καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπίκλησιν Αἰγυπτίοις. καὶ ἦν γὰρ στοὰ καλουμένη Κότυος, καταρρυέντος δέ οἱ τοῦ ὀρόφου διεφθάρτο ἤδη πᾶσα ἅτε ὠμῆς τῆς πλίνθου ποιηθεῖσα· ἀνῳκοδόμησε καὶ ταύτην. Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρουν, ὅτι μήτε αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν σκέπῃ σφίσιν ἔτικτον καὶ ἡ τελευτὴ τοῖς κάμνουσιν ὑπαίθριος ἐγίνετο· ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπανορθούμενος κατεσκευάσατο οἴκησιν· ἐνταῦθα ἤδη καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τεκεῖν γυναικὶ ὅσιον.

7 Ὄρη δέ ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος τό τε Τίτθιον καὶ ἕτερον ὀνομαζόμενον Κυνόρτιον, Μαλεάτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Μαλεάτου καὶ ἔλυτρον κρήνης, ἐς ὃ τὸ ὕδωρ συλλέγεταί σφισι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ταῦτα Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἐποίησεν. XXVIII. δρύοντες δὲ[1] οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ ἕτερον γένος ἐς τὸ ξανθότερον ῥέπον τῆς χρόας ἱεροὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἀσκλη-

[1] The text here is probably corrupt.

polis is unequalled for size, what architect could seriously rival Polycleitus in symmetry and beauty? For it was Polycleitus[1] who built both this theatre and the circular building. Within the grove are a temple of Artemis, an image of Epione, a sanctuary of Aphrodite and Themis, a race-course consisting, like most Greek race-courses, of a bank of earth, and a fountain worth seeing for its roof and general splendour. A Roman senator, Antoninus, made in our own day a bath of Asclepius and a sanctuary of the gods they call Bountiful. He made also a temple to Health, Asclepius, and Apollo, the last two surnamed Egyptian. He moreover restored the portico that was named the Portico of Cotys, which, as the brick of which it was made had been unburnt, had fallen into utter ruin after it had lost its roof. As the Epidaurians about the sanctuary were in great distress, because their women had no shelter in which to be delivered and the sick breathed their last in the open, he provided a dwelling, so that these grievances also were redressed. Here at last was a place in which without sin a human being could die and a woman be delivered. 138 or 161 A.D.

Above the grove are the Nipple and another mountain called Cynortium; on the latter is a sanctuary of Maleatian Apollo. The sanctuary itself is an ancient one, but among the things Antoninus made for the Epidaurians are various appurtenances for the sanctuary of the Maleatian, including a reservoir into which the rain-water collects for their use. XXVIII. The serpents, including a peculiar kind of a yellowish colour, are considered sacred

[1] Probably the younger artist of that name.

πιοῦ νομίζονται καὶ εἰσὶν ἀνθρώποις ἥμεροι, τρέφει δὲ μόνη σφᾶς ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων γῆ. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ εὑρίσκω καὶ ἄλλαις χώραις συμβεβηκός· Λιβύη μέν γε μόνη κροκοδείλους τρέφει χερσαίους διπήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, παρὰ δὲ Ἰνδῶν μόνων ἄλλα τε κομίζεται καὶ ὄρνιθες οἱ ψιττακοί. τοὺς δὲ ὄφεις οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι τοὺς μεγάλους ἐς πλέον πηχῶν καὶ τριάκοντα προήκοντας, οἷοι παρά τε Ἰνδοῖς τρέφονται καὶ ἐν Λιβύῃ, ἄλλο δή τι γένος φασὶν εἶναι καὶ οὐ
2 δράκοντας. ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνιοῦσι τὸ Κόρυφον, ἔστι καθ' ὁδὸν Στρεπτῆς καλουμένης ἐλαίας φυτόν, αἰτίου τοῦ περιαγαγόντος τῇ χειρὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα. εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀσιναίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἔθηκεν ὄρον τοῦτον, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε εἰδείην, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἑτέρωθι ἀναστάτου γενομένης χώρας τὸ σαφὲς ἔτι οἷόν τε τῶν ὅρων ἐξευρεῖν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους Κορυφαίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, οὗ καὶ Τελέσιλλα ἐποιήσατο ἐν ἄσμασι μνήμην.
3 Κατιοῦσι δὲ ἐς τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων τὴν πόλιν χωρίον ἐστὶ πεφυκυίας ἀγριελαίους ἔχον· Τρυπήθιον δὲ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτό, ὡς Ἐπιδαύριοί τε λέγουσι καὶ εἰκὸς ἔχει, γράψω. Κεῖσος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Τημένου παῖδες μάλιστα ᾔδεσαν Δηιφόντην λυπήσοντες, εἰ διαλῦσαί πως ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Τρυηθὼ δυνηθεῖεν. ἀφίκοντο οὖν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον Κερύνης καὶ Φάλκης· Ἀγραίῳ γὰρ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τὰ ποιούμενα οὐκ ἤρεσκεν. οὗτοι δὲ στήσαντες τὸ ἅρμα ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος κήρυκα ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἐλθεῖν δῆθεν ἐς

to Asclepius, and are tame with men. These are peculiar to Epidauria, and I have noticed that other lands have their peculiar animals. For in Libya only are to be found land crocodiles at least two cubits long; from India alone are brought, among other creatures, parrots. But the big snakes that grow to more than thirty cubits, such as are found in India and in Libya, are said by the Epidaurians not to be serpents, but some other kind of creature. As you go up to Mount Coryphum you see by the road an olive tree called Twisted. It was Heracles who gave it this shape by bending it round with his hand, but I cannot say whether he set it to be a boundary mark against the Asinaeans in Argolis, since in no land, which has been depopulated, is it easy to discover the truth about the boundaries. On the top of the mountain there is a sanctuary of Artemis Coryphaea (*of the Peak*), of which Telesilla[1] made mention in an ode.

On going down to the city of the Epidaurians, you come to a place where wild olives grow; they call it Hyrnethium. I will relate the story of it, which is probable enough, as given by the Epidaurians. Ceisus and the other sons of Temenus knew that they would grieve Deïphontes most if they could find a way to part him and Hyrnetho. So Cerynes and Phalces (for Agraeüs, the youngest, disapproved of their plan) came to Epidaurus. Staying their chariot under the wall, they sent a herald to their sister, pretending that they wished

[1] A famous lyric poetess. See p. 355.

4 λόγους αὐτῇ βουλόμενοι. ὡς δὲ ὑπήκουσε καλοῦσιν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ νεανίσκοι πολλὰ μὲν Δηιφόντου κατηγόρουν, πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἱκέτευον ἐκείνην ἐπανήκειν ἐς Ἄργος, ἄλλα τε ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ ἀνδρὶ δώσειν αὐτὴν Δηιφόντου τὰ πάντα ἀμείνονι καὶ ἀνθρώπων πλειόνων καὶ γῆς ἄρχοντι εὐδαιμονεστέρας. Τρνηθὼ δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἀλγήσασα ἀπεδίδου σφίσι τὴν ἴσην, Δηιφόντην μὲν αὐτῇ τε ἄνδρα ἀρεστὸν εἶναι φήσασα καὶ Τημένῳ γενέσθαι γαμβρὸν οὐ μεμπτόν, ἐκείνοις δὲ Τημένου προσήκειν σφαγεῦσιν ὀνομάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ
5 παισίν. καὶ τὴν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀποκρινάμενοι συλλαμβάνουσιν, ἀναθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ ἅρμα ἀπήλαυνον· Δηιφόντῃ δὲ ἀγγέλλει τις τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων ὡς Κερύνης καὶ Φάλκης ἄγοντες οἴχοιντο ἄκουσαν Τρνηθώ. ὁ δὲ αὐτός τε ὡς τάχους εἶχεν ἤμυνε καὶ οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι πυνθανόμενοι προσεβοήθουν. Δηιφόντης δὲ Κερύνην μὲν ὡς κατελάμβανεν ἀναιρεῖ βαλών, Φάλκην δὲ ἐχόμενον Τρνηθοῦς βαλεῖν μὲν ἔδεισε, μὴ ἁμαρτὼν γένοιτο αὐτῆς ἐκείνης φονεύς, συμπλακεὶς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. Φάλκης δὲ ἀντεχόμενος καὶ ἕλκων βιαιότερον ἀπέκτεινεν ἔχουσαν ἐν
6 γαστρί. καὶ ὁ μὲν συνείς, οἷα ἐς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐξειργασμένος ἔργα ἦν, ἤλαυνε τὸ ἅρμα ἀφειδέστερον, προλαβεῖν τῆς ὁδοῦ σπεύδων πρὶν ἢ πάντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν συλλεχθῆναι τοὺς Ἐπιδαυρίους· Δηιφόντης δὲ σὺν τοῖς παισίν—ἐγεγόνεσαν γὰρ καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ πρότερον ἔτι υἱοὶ μὲν Ἀντιμένης καὶ Ξάνθιππός τε καὶ Ἀργεῖος, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ὀρσοβία· ταύτην Πάμφυλον τὸν Αἰγιμίου λέγουσιν ὕστερον γῆμαι—τότε δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν

to parley with her. When she obeyed their summons, the young men began to make many accusations against Deïphontes, and besought her much that she would return to Argos, promising, among other things, to give her to a husband in every respect better than Deïphontes, one who ruled over more subjects and a more prosperous country. But Hyrnetho, pained at their words, gave as good as she had received, retorting that Deïphontes was a dear husband to her, and had shown himself a blameless son-in-law to Temenus; as for them, they ought to be called the murderers of Temenus rather than his sons. Without further reply the youths seized her, placed her in the chariot, and drove away. An Epidaurian told Deïphontes that Cerynes and Phalces had gone, taking with them Hyrnetho against her will; he himself rushed to the rescue with all speed, and as the Epidaurians learned the news they reinforced him. On overtaking the runaways, Deïphontes shot Cerynes and killed him, but he was afraid to shoot at Phalces, who was holding Hyrnetho, lest he should miss him and become the slayer of his wife; so he closed with them and tried to get her away. But Phalces, holding on and dragging her with greater violence, killed her, as she was with child. Realising what he had done to his sister, he began to drive the chariot more recklessly, as he was anxious to gain a start before all the Epidaurians could gather against him. Deïphontes and his children—for before this children had been born to him, Antimenes, Xanthippus, and Argeüs, and a daughter, Orsobia, who, they say, afterwards married Pamphylus, son of Aegimius—took up the

νεκρὸν τῆς Τρνηθοῦς κομίζουσιν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ
7 χωρίον τὸ ἀνὰ χρόνον Τρνήθιον κληθέν. καί οἱ
ποιήσαντες ἡρῷον τιμὰς καὶ ἄλλας δεδώκασι καὶ
ἐπὶ τοῖς πεφυκόσιν ἐλαίοις, καὶ εἰ δή τι ἄλλο
δένδρον ἔσω, καθέστηκε νόμος τὰ θραυόμενα
μηδένα ἐς οἶκον φέρεσθαι μηδὲ χρᾶσθαί σφισιν
ἐς μηδέν, κατὰ χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ λείπουσιν ἱερὰ
εἶναι τῆς Τρνηθοῦς.

8 Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς πόλεως Μελίσσης μνῆμά
ἐστιν, ἢ Περιάνδρῳ συνῴκησε τῷ Κυψέλου, καὶ
ἕτερον Προκλέους πατρὸς τῆς Μελίσσης. ἐτυ-
ράννει δὲ καὶ οὗτος Ἐπιδαυρίων, καθὰ δὴ καὶ ὁ
γαμβρὸς οἱ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου. XXIX. αὐτὴ
δὲ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων ἡ πόλις παρείχετο ἐς μνήμην
ταῦδε ἀξιολογώτατα· τέμενος δή ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ
καὶ ἀγάλματα ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς καὶ Ἡπιόνη, γυναῖκα
δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἡπιόνην Ἀσκληπιοῦ φασι· ταῦτά
ἐστιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου Παρίου. ναὸς δὲ ἐν τῇ
πόλει καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστιν ἄλλος·
εἰκάσαις ἂν θηρευούσῃ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν. Ἀφροδίτης
τε ἱερὸν πεποίηται· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ἐπὶ
ἄκρας ἀνεχούσης ἐς θάλασσαν λέγουσιν Ἥρας
εἶναι. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, ξόανον
θέας ἄξιον, Κισσαίαν ἐπονομάζουσιν.

2 Αἰγινῆται δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ἔχοντες τὴν νῆσον ἀπαν-
τικρὺ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας. ἀνθρώπους δ' οὐκ εὐθὺς
ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι· Διὸς δὲ ἐς
ἔρημον κομίσαντος Αἴγιναν τὴν Ἀσωποῦ τῇ μὲν
τὸ ὄνομα ἐτέθη τοῦτο ἀντὶ Οἰνώνης, Αἰακοῦ δὲ
αἰτήσαντος ὡς ηὐξήθη παρὰ Διὸς οἰκήτορας,
οὕτω οἱ τὸν Δία ἀνεῖναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φασὶν
ἐκ τῆς γῆς. βασιλεύσαντα δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ πλὴν

dead body of Hyrnetho and carried it to this place, which in course of time was named Hyrnethium. They built for her a hero-shrine, and bestowed upon her various honours; in particular, the custom was established that nobody should carry home, or use for any purpose, the pieces that break off the olive trees, or any other trees, that grow there; these are left there on the spot to be sacred to Hyrnetho.

Not far from the city is the tomb of Melissa, who married Periander, the son of Cypselus, and another of Procles, the father of Melissa. He, too, was tyrant of Epidaurus, as Periander, his son-in-law, was tyrant of Corinth. XXIX. The most noteworthy things which I found the city of Epidaurus itself had to show are these. There is, of course, a precinct of Asclepius, with images of the god himself and of Epione. Epione, they say, was the wife of Asclepius. These are of Parian marble, and are set up in the open. There is also in the city a temple of Dionysus and one of Artemis. The figure of Artemis one might take to be the goddess hunting. There is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite, while the one at the harbour, on a height that juts out into the sea, they say is Hera's. The Athena on the citadel, a wooden image worth seeing, they surname Cissaea (*Ivy Goddess*). c. 600 B.C.

The Aeginetans dwell in the island over against Epidauria. It is said that in the beginning there were no men in it; but after Zeus brought to it, when uninhabited, Aegina, daughter of Asopus, its name was changed from Oenone to Aegina; and when Aeacus, on growing up, asked Zeus for settlers, the god, they say, raised up the inhabitants out of the earth. They can mention no king of the island

Αἰακὸν οὐδένα εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τῶν Αἰακοῦ παίδων τινὰ ἴσμεν καταμείναντα, Πηλεῖ μὲν συμβὰν καὶ Τελαμῶνι ἐπὶ φόνῳ φεύγειν τῷ Φώκου, τῶν δὲ αὖ Φώκου παίδων περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκησάντων ἐν τῇ νῦν καλουμένῃ Φωκίδι. 3 τὸ δὲ ὄνομα προϋπῆρχεν ἤδη τῇ χώρᾳ, Φώκου τοῦ Ὀρνυτίωνος γενεᾷ πρότερον ἐς αὐτὴν ἐλθόντος. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Φώκου τούτου ἡ περὶ Τιθορέαν τε καὶ Παρνασσὸν ἐκαλεῖτο Φωκίς· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Αἰακοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐξενίκησεν, ὅσοι Μινύαις τέ εἰσιν Ὀρχομενίοις ὅμοροι καὶ ἐπὶ Σκάρφειαν τὴν 4 Λοκρῶν καθήκουσι. γεγόνασι δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Πηλέως οἱ ἐν Ἠπείρῳ βασιλεῖς, Τελαμῶνος δὲ τῶν παίδων Αἴαντος μέν ἐστιν ἀφανέστερον γένος οἷα ἰδιωτεύσαντος ἀνθρώπου, πλὴν ὅσον Μιλτιάδης, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἡγήσατο, καὶ Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου προῆλθον ἐς δόξαν· οἱ δὲ Τευκρίδαι βασιλεῖς διέμειναν Κυπρίων ἄρχοντες ἐς Εὐαγόραν. Φώκῳ δὲ Ἄσιος ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας γενέσθαι φησὶ Πανοπέα καὶ Κρῖσον· καὶ Πανοπέως μὲν ἐγένετο Ἐπειὸς ὁ τὸν ἵππον τὸν δούρειον, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν, ἐργασάμενος, Κρίσου δὲ ἦν ἀπόγονος τρίτος Πυλάδης, Στροφίου τε ὢν τοῦ Κρίσου καὶ Ἀναξιβίας ἀδελφῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος. γένη μὲν τοσαῦτα τῶν καλουμένων Αἰακιδῶν, 5 ἐξεχώρησε δὲ ἑτέρωσε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μοῖρα Ἀργείων τῶν Ἐπίδαυρον ὁμοῦ Δηιφόντῃ κατασχόντων, διαβᾶσα ἐς Αἴγιναν καὶ Αἰγινήταις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γενόμενοι σύνοικοι, τὰ Δωριέων ἔθη καὶ φωνὴν κατεστήσαντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. προελθοῦσι δὲ Αἰγινήταις ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως, ὡς Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπικρατε-

except Aeacus, since we know of none even of the sons of Aeacus who stayed there; for to Peleus and Telamon befell exile for the murder of Phocus, while the sons of Phocus made their home about Parnassus, in the land that is now called Phocis. This name had already been given to the land, at the time when Phocus, son of Ornytion, came to it a generation previously. In the time, then, of this Phocus only the district about Tithorea and Parnassus was called Phocis, but in the time of Aeacus the name spread to all from the borders of the Minyae at Orchomenos to Scarphea among the Locri. From Peleus sprang the kings in Epeirus; but as for the sons of Telamon, the family of Ajax is undistinguished, because he was a man who lived a private life; though Miltiades, who led the Athenians to Marathon, and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, 490 B.C. achieved renown; but the family of Teucer continued to be the royal house in Cyprus down to the time of Evagoras. Asius the epic poet says that to Phocus were born Panopeus and Crisus. To Panopeus was born Epeüs, who made, according to Homer, the wooden horse; and the grandson of Crisus was Pylades, whose father was Strophius, son of Crisus, while his mother was Anaxibia, sister of Agamemnon. Such was the pedigree of the Aeacidae (*family of Aeacus*), as they are called, but they departed from the beginning to other lands. Subsequently a division of the Argives who, under Deïphontes, had seized Epidaurus, crossed to Aegina, and, settling among the old Aeginetans, established in the island Dorian manners and the Dorian dialect. Although the Aeginetans rose to great power, so that their navy was superior to that of Athens, and

στέρους καὶ ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ παρασχέσθαι πλοῖα μετά γε Ἀθηναίους πλεῖστα, οὐ παρέμεινεν ἐς ἅπαν ἡ εὐδαιμονία, γενόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἀνάστατοι Θυρέαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Λακεδαιμονίων δόντων ᾤκησαν. καὶ ἀπέλαβον μὲν τὴν νῆσον, ὅτε περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον αἱ Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις ἐλήφθησαν, πλούτου δὲ ἢ δυνάμεως οὐκέτι ἐξεγένετο ἐς ἴσον προελθεῖν σφισιν.

6 Προσπλεῦσαι δὲ Αἴγινά ἐστι νήσων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ἀπορωτάτη· πέτραι τε γὰρ ὕφαλοι περὶ πᾶσαν καὶ χοιράδες ἀνεστήκασι. μηχανήσασθαι δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες ταῦτα Αἰακόν φασι λῃστειῶν τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης φόβῳ, καὶ πολεμίοις ἀνδράσι μὴ ἄνευ κινδύνου εἶναι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ὁρμίζονται ναύς ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης, ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον, περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λί-
7 θου. ἐπειργασμένοι δέ εἰσι κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον οἱ παρὰ Αἰακόν ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σταλέντες· αἰτίαν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν Αἰγινῆται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λέγουσιν. αὐχμὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐπίεζε καὶ οὔτε τὴν ἐκτὸς ἰσθμοῦ χώραν οὔτε Πελοποννησίοις ἦεν ὁ θεός, ἐς ὃ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέστειλαν ἐρησομένους τὸ αἴτιον ὅ τι εἴη καὶ αἰτήσοντας ἅμα λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ. τούτοις ἡ Πυθία εἶπε Δία ἱλάσκεσθαι, χρῆναι δέ, εἴπερ ὑπακούσει σφίσιν,
8 Αἰακὸν τὸν ἱκετεύσοντα εἶναι. οὕτως Αἰακοῦ δεησομένους ἀποστέλλουσιν ἀφ' ἑκάστης πόλεως· καὶ ὁ μὲν τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ θύσας καὶ εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν ἐποίησεν ὕεσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐλθόντων ὡς αὐτὸν εἰκόνας ταύτας ἐποιήσαντο

in the Persian war supplied more ships than any state except Athens, yet their prosperity was not permanent; but when the island was depopulated by the Athenians, they took up their abode at Thyrea, in Argolis, which the Lacedaemonians gave them to dwell in. They recovered their island when the Athenian warships were captured in the Hellespont, yet it was never given them to rise again to their old wealth or power. 431 B.C. 405 B.C.

Of the Greek islands, Aegina is the most difficult of access, for it is surrounded by sunken rocks and reefs which rise up. The story is that Aeacus devised this feature of set purpose, because he feared piratical raids by sea, and wished the approach to be perilous to enemies. Near the harbour in which vessels mostly anchor is a temple of Aphrodite, and in the most conspicuous part of the city what is called the shrine of Aeacus, a quadrangular enclosure of white marble. Wrought in relief at the entrance are the envoys whom the Greeks once dispatched to Aeacus. The reason for the embassy given by the Aeginetans is the same as that which the other Greeks assign. A drought had for some time afflicted Greece, and no rain fell either beyond the Isthmus or in the Peloponnesus, until at last they sent envoys to Delphi to ask what was the cause and to beg for deliverance from the evil. The Pythian priestess bade them propitiate Zeus, saying that he would not listen to them unless the one to supplicate him were Aeacus. And so envoys came with a request to Aeacus from each city. By sacrifice and prayer to Zeus, God of all the Greeks (*Panellenios*), he caused rain to fall upon the earth, and the Aeginetans made these likenesses of

οἱ Αἰγινῆται. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ἐλαῖαι πεφύκασιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ βωμός ἐστιν οὐ πολὺ ἀνέχων ἐκ τῆς γῆς· ὡς δὲ καὶ μνῆμα οὗτος ὁ βωμὸς εἴη Αἰακοῦ, λεγόμενόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ.
9 παρὰ δὲ τὸ Αἰάκειον Φώκου τάφος χῶμά ἐστι περιεχόμενον κύκλῳ κρηπῖδι, ἐπίκειται δέ οἱ λίθος τραχύς· καὶ ἡνίκα Φῶκον Τελαμὼν καὶ Πηλεὺς προηγάγοντο ἐς ἀγῶνα πεντάθλου καὶ περιῆλθεν ἐς Πηλέα ἀφεῖναι τὸν λίθον—οὗτος γὰρ ἀντὶ δίσκου σφίσιν ἦν—, ἑκὼν τυγχάνει τοῦ Φώκου. ταῦτα δὲ ἐχαρίζοντο τῇ μητρί· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ τῆς Σκίρωνος θυγατρός, Φῶκος δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδελφῆς Θέτιδος ἦν, εἰ δὴ τὰ ὄντα λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες. Πυλάδης τέ μοι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φαίνεται καὶ οὐκ Ὀρέστου φιλίᾳ μόνον βουλεῦσαι Νεοπτολέμῳ
10 τὸν φόνον. τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ δίσκῳ πληγεὶς ἀπέθανεν ὁ Φῶκος, φεύγουσιν ἐπιβάντες νεὼς οἱ Ἐνδηίδος παῖδες· Τελαμὼν δὲ ὕστερα κήρυκα ἀποστέλλων ἠρνεῖτο μὴ βουλεῦσαι Φώκῳ θάνατον. Αἰακὸς δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν νῆσον ἀποβαίνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἴα, ἑστηκότα δὲ ἐπὶ νεώς, εἰ δὲ ἐθέλοι, χῶμα ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ χώσαντα ἐκέλευεν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπολογήσασθαι. οὕτως ἐς τὸν Κρυπτὸν καλούμενον λιμένα ἐσπλεύσας νύκτωρ ἐποίει χῶμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξεργασθὲν καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι μένει· καταγνωσθεὶς δὲ οὐκ ἀναίτιος εἶναι Φώκῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σαλαμῖνα ἀπέπλευσε.
11 τοῦ λιμένος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Κρυπτοῦ θέατρόν ἐστι θέας ἄξιον, κατὰ τὸ Ἐπιδαυρίων μάλιστα μέγεθος καὶ ἐργασίαν τὴν λοιπήν. τούτου δὲ ὄπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται σταδίου πλευρὰ μία, ἀνέ-

those who came to him. Within the enclosure are olive trees that have grown there from of old, and there is an altar which is raised but a little from the ground. That this altar is also the tomb of Aeacus is told as a holy secret. Beside the shrine of Aeacus is the grave of Phocus, a barrow surrounded by a basement, and on it lies a rough stone. When Telamon and Peleus had induced Phocus to compete at the *pentathlon*, and it was now the turn of Peleus to hurl the stone, which they were using for a quoit, he intentionally hit Phocus. The act was done to please their mother; for, while they were both born of the daughter of Sciron, Phocus was not, being, if indeed the report of the Greeks be true, the son of a sister of Thetis. I believe it was for this reason, and not only out of friendship for Orestes, that Pylades plotted the murder of Neoptolemus. When this blow of the quoit killed Phocus, the sons of Endeïs boarded a ship and fled. Afterwards Telamon sent a herald denying that he had plotted the death of Phocus. Aeacus, however, refused to allow him to land on the island, and bade him make his defence standing on board ship, or, if he wished, from a mole raised in the sea. So he sailed into the harbour called Secret, and proceeded to make a mole by night. This was finished, and still remains at the present day. But Telamon, being condemned as implicated in the murder of Phocus, sailed away a second time and came to Salamis. Not far from the Secret Harbour is a theatre worth seeing; it is very similar to the one at Epidaurus, both in size and in style. Behind it is built one side of a race-

χουσά τε αὐτὴ τὸ θέατρον καὶ ἀντὶ ἐρείσματος ἀνάλογον ἐκείνῳ χρωμένη.

XXX. Ναοὶ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότες ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος, Διονύσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τρίτος. Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν δὴ ξόανον γυμνόν ἐστι τέχνης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου, τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδί ἐστιν ἐσθής, κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ· καὶ γένεια Διόνυσος ἔχων πεποίηται. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔστι μὲν ἐτέρωθι καὶ
2 οὐ ταύτῃ, λίθου δὲ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον. θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινῆται τιμῶσιν Ἑκάτην μάλιστα καὶ τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Ἑκάτης, Ὀρφέα σφίσι τὸν Θρᾷκα καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν λέγοντες. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ναός ἐστι, ξόανον δὲ ἔργον Μύρωνος, ὁμοίως ἐν πρόσωπόν τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα. Ἀλκαμένης δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πρῶτος ἀγάλματα Ἑκάτης τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἐπιπυργιδίαν· ἕστηκε δὲ παρὰ τῆς Ἀπτέρου Νίκης τὸν ναόν.
3 ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσιν, ἔστιν Ἀφαίας ἱερόν, ἐς ἣν καὶ Πίνδαρος ᾆσμα Αἰγινήταις ἐποίησε. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Κρῆτες—τούτοις γάρ ἐστι τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπιχώρια—Καρμάνορος τοῦ καθήραντος Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ φόνῳ τῷ Πύθωνος παῖδα Εὔβουλον εἶναι, Διὸς δὲ καὶ Κάρμης τῆς Εὐβούλου Βριτόμαρτιν γενέσθαι· χαίρειν δὲ αὐτὴν δρόμοις τε καὶ θήραις καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι μάλιστα φίλην εἶναι· Μίνω δὲ ἐρασθέντα φεύγουσα ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν ἐς δίκτυα ἀφειμένα ἐπ' ἰχθύων θήρᾳ. ταύτην μὲν θεὸν ἐποίησεν Ἄρτεμις, σέβουσι δὲ οὐ Κρῆτες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ

course, which not only itself holds up the theatre, but also in turn uses it as a support.

XXX. There are three temples close together, one of Apollo, one of Artemis, and a third of Dionysus. Apollo has a naked wooden image of native workmanship, but Artemis is dressed, and so, too, is Dionysus, who is, moreover, represented with a beard. The sanctuary of Asclepius is not here, but in another place, and his image is of stone, and seated. Of the gods, the Aeginetans worship most Hecate, in whose honour every year they celebrate mystic rites which, they say, Orpheus the Thracian established among them. Within the enclosure is a temple; its wooden image is the work of Myron, and it has one face and one body. It was Alcamenes,[1] in my opinion, who first made three images of Hecate attached to one another, a figure called by the Athenians Epipurgidia (*on the Tower*); it stands beside the temple of the Wingless Victory. In Aegina, as you go towards the mountain of Zeus, God of all the Greeks, you reach a sanctuary of Aphaea, in whose honour Pindar composed an ode for the Aeginetans. The Cretans say (the story of Aphaea is Cretan) that Carmanor, who purified Apollo after he had killed Pytho, was the father of Eubulus, and that the daughter of Zeus and of Carme, the daughter of Eubulus, was Britomartis. She took delight, they say, in running and in the chase, and was very dear to Artemis. Fleeing from Minos, who had fallen in love with her, she threw herself into nets which had been cast (*apheimena*) for a draught of fishes. She was made a goddess by Artemis, and she is worshipped, not only by the Cretans, but also by

fl. c. 460 B.C.

[1] A contemporary of Pheidias.

Αἰγινῆται, λέγοντες φαίνεσθαί σφισιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὴν Βριτόμαρτιν. ἐπίκλησις δέ οἱ παρά τε Αἰγινήταις ἐστὶν Ἄφαία καὶ Δίκτυννα ἐν Κρήτῃ. 4 τὸ δὲ Πανελλήνιον, ὅτι μὴ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἱερόν, ἄλλο τὸ ὄρος ἀξιόλογον εἶχεν οὐδέν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν λέγουσιν Αἰακὸν ποιῆσαι τῷ Διί· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Λύξησίαν καὶ Δαμίαν, ὡς οὐχ ὗεν ὁ θεὸς Ἐπιδαυρίοις, ὡς τὰ ξόανα ταῦτα ἐκ μαντείας ἐποιήσαντο ἐλαίας παρ' Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες, ὡς Ἐπιδαύριοι μὲν οὐκ ἀπέφερον ἔτι Ἀθηναίοις ἃ ἐτάξαντο οἷα Αἰγινητῶν ἐχόντων τὰ ἀγάλματα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἀπώλοντο οἱ διαβάντες διὰ ταῦτα ἐς Αἴγιναν, ταῦτα εἰπόντος Ἡροδότου καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς οὔ μοι γράφειν κατὰ γνώμην ἦν εὖ προειρημένα, πλὴν τοσοῦτό γε ὅτι εἶδόν τε τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἔθυσά σφισι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἐλευσῖνι θύειν νομίζουσιν.

5 Αἰγίνης μὲν δὴ Αἰακοῦ ἕνεκα καὶ ἔργων ὁπόσα ἀπεδείξατο ἐς τοσόνδε ἔστω μνήμη· τῆς δὲ Ἐπιδαυρίας ἔχονται Τροιζήνιοι, σεμνύνοντες εἴπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τὰ ἐγχώρια· φασὶ δὲ Ὧρον γενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ πρῶτον. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτιον φαίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς Ἑλληνικὸν ὄνομα Ὧρος εἶναι· βασιλεῦσαι δ' οὖν φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ Ὡραίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν, Ἄλθηπον δὲ Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα καὶ Λητίδος τῆς Ὧρου, παραλαβόντα μετὰ Ὧρον τὴν ἀρχήν, 6 Ἀλθηπίαν ὀνομάσαι τὴν γῆν. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἀμφισβητῆσαι λέγουσι περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἀμφισβητήσαντας δὲ ἔχειν ἐν κοινῷ· προστάξαι γὰρ οὕτω Δία σφίσι.

the Aeginetans, who say that Britomartis shows herself in their island. Her surname among the Aeginetans is Aphaea; in Crete it is Dictynna (*Goddess of Nets*). The Mount of all the Greeks, except for the sanctuary of Zeus, has, I found, nothing else worthy of mention. This sanctuary, they say, was made for Zeus by Aeacus. The story of Auxesia and Damia, how the Epidaurians suffered from drought, how in obedience to an oracle they had these wooden images made of olive wood that they received from the Athenians, how the Epidaurians left off paying to the Athenians what they had agreed to pay, on the ground that the Aeginetans had the images, how the Athenians perished who crossed over to Aegina to fetch them—all this, as Herodotus[1] has described it accurately and in detail, I have no intention of relating, because the story has been well told already; but I will add that I saw the images, and sacrificed to them in the same way as it is customary to sacrifice at Eleusis.

So much I must relate about Aegina, for the sake of Aeacus and his exploits. Bordering on Epidauria are the Troezenians, unrivalled glorifiers of their own country. They say that Orus was the first to be born in their land. Now, in my opinion, Orus is an Egyptian name and utterly un-Greek; but they assert that he became their king, and that the land was called Oraea after him; and that Althepus, the son of Poseidon and of Leïs, the daughter of Orus, inheriting the kingdom after Orus, named the land Althepia. During his reign, they say, Athena and Poseidon disputed about the land, and after disputing held it in common, as Zeus commanded

[1] Herodotus v. 82–87.

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀθηνᾶν τε σέβουσι Πολιάδα καὶ Σθενιάδα ὀνομάζοντες τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα Βασιλέα ἐπίκλησιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμα αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπίσημα ἔχει τρίαιναν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς
7 πρόσωπον. μετὰ δὲ Ἄλθηπον Σάρων ἐβασίλευσεν. ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι οὗτος τῇ Σαρωνίδι τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τελματώδει καὶ ἐπιπολῆς μᾶλλον, ὥστε καὶ Φοιβαία λίμνη διὰ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο. Σάρωνα δὲ—θηρεύειν γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα ἤρητο—κατέλαβεν ἔλαφον διώκοντα ἐς θάλασσαν συνεσπεσεῖν φευγούσῃ· καὶ ἥ τε ἔλαφος ἐνήχετο ἀπωτέρω τῆς γῆς καὶ ὁ Σάρων εἶχετο τῆς ἄγρας, ἐς ὃ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ἤδη δὲ κάμνοντα αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων κατακλυζόμενον ἐπέλαβε τὸ χρεών. ἐκπεσόντα δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν κατὰ τὴν Φοιβαίαν λίμνην ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ περιβόλου θάπτουσι, καὶ λίμνην ἀπὸ τούτου Σαρωνίδα τὴν ταύτῃ θάλασσαν
8 καλοῦσιν ἀντὶ Φοιβαίας. τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύσαντας οὐκ ἴσασιν ἄχρι Ὑπέρητος καὶ Ἄνθα· τούτους δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀλκυόνης Ἄτλαντος θυγατρός, καὶ πόλεις αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φασὶν Ὑπερείαν τε καὶ Ἄνθειαν οἰκίσαι· Ἀέτιον δὲ τὸν Ἄνθα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ θείου παραλαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν πόλεων Ποσειδωνιάδα ὀνομάσαι. Τροίζηνος δὲ καὶ Πιτθέως παρὰ Ἀέτιον ἐλθόντων βασιλεῖς μὲν τρεῖς ἀντὶ ἑνὸς ἐγένοντο, ἴσχυον δὲ οἱ παῖδες μᾶλλον οἱ
9 Πέλοπος. σημεῖον δέ· ἀποθανόντος γὰρ Τροίζηνος Πιτθεὺς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Τροίζηνα,

them to do. For this reason they worship both Athena, whom they name both Polias (*Urban*) and Sthenias (*Strong*), and also Poseidon, under the surname of King. And moreover their old coins have as device a trident and a face of Athena. After Althepus, Saron became king. They said that this man built the sanctuary for Saronian Artemis by a sea which is marshy and shallow, so that for this reason it was called the Phoebaean lagoon. Now Saron was very fond of hunting. As he was chasing a doe, it so chanced that it dashed into the sea and he dashed in after it. The doe swam further and further from the shore, and Saron kept close to his prey, until his ardour brought him to the open ocean. Here his strength failed, and he was drowned in the waves. The body was cast ashore at the grove of Artemis by the Phoebaean lagoon, and they buried it within the sacred enclosure, and after him they named the sea in these parts the Saronic instead of the Phoebaean lagoon. They know nothing of the later kings down to Hyperes and Anthas. These they assert to be sons of Poseidon and of Alcyone, daughter of Atlas, adding that they founded in the country the cities of Hyperea and Anthea; Aëtius, however, the son of Anthas, on inheriting the kingdoms of his father and of his uncle, named one of the cities Poseidonias. When Troezen and Pittheus came to Aëtius there were three kings instead of one, but the sons of Pelops enjoyed the balance of power. Here is evidence of it. When Troezen died, Pittheus gathered the inhabitants together, incorporating both Hyperea and Anthea into the modern city,

συλλαβὼν Ὑπέρειάν τε καὶ Ἄνθειαν. πολλοῖς δὲ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἐς ἀποικίαν ἐκ Τροιζῆνος σταλέντες Ἁλικαρνασσὸν ἐν τῇ Καρίᾳ καὶ Μύνδον ἀπῴκισαν οἱ γεγονότες ἀπ᾽ Αἰτίου τοῦ Ἄνθα. Τροίζηνος δὲ οἱ παῖδες Ἀνάφλυστος καὶ Σφῆττος μετοικοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ οἱ δῆμοι τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ τούτων. τὰ δὲ ἐς Θησέα θυγατριδοῦν Πιτθέως εἰδόσι τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ γράφω, δεῖ δέ με τοσόνδε ἔτι δηλῶσαι. Ἡρακλειδῶν γὰρ κατελθόντων ἐδέξαντο καὶ οἱ Τροιζήνιοι συνοίκους Δωριέων τῶν ἐξ Ἄργους καὶ πρότερον ἔτι Ἀργείων ὄντες κατήκοοι· καὶ σφᾶς καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν καταλόγῳ φησὶν ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἄρχεσθαι. Διομήδης γὰρ καὶ Εὐρύαλος ὁ Μηκιστέως Κυάνιππον τὸν Αἰγιαλέως παῖδα ὄντα ἐπιτροπεύοντες Ἀργείων ἡγήσαντο ἐς Τροίαν. Σθένελος δέ, ὡς ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς πρότερον, οἰκίας τε ἦν ἐπιφανεστέρας, τῶν Ἀναξαγοριδῶν καλουμένων, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τούτῳ μάλιστα ἦν ἡ Ἀργείων προσήκουσα. τοσαῦτα Τροιζηνίοις ἐχόμενα ἱστορίας ἦν, παρὲξ ἢ ὅσαι πόλεις παρ᾽ αὐτῶν φασιν ἀποικισθῆναι· κατασκευὴν δὲ ἱερῶν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς ἐπίδειξιν, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπέξειμι.

XXXI. Ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Τροιζηνίων ναὸς καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστι Σωτείρας· Θησέα δὲ ἐλέγετο ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι Σώτειραν, ἡνίκα Ἀστερίωνα τὸν Μίνω καταγωνισάμενος ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης. ἀξιολογώτατον δὲ εἶναι τοῦτο ἔδοξέν οἱ τῶν κατειργασμένων, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὅτι ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ Θησέως ὑπερέβαλεν ὁ Ἀστερίων, ἀλλὰ τό τε τοῦ λαβυρίνθου δυσέξοδον καὶ τὸ λαθόντα

which he named Troezen after his brother. Many years afterwards the descendants of Aëtius, son of Anthas, were dispatched as colonists from Troezen, and founded Halicarnassus and Myndus in Caria. Anaphlystus and Sphettus, sons of Troezen, migrated to Attica, and the parishes are named after them. As my readers know it already, I shall not relate the story of Theseus, the grandson of Pittheus. There is, however, one incident that I must add. On the return of the Heracleidae, the Troezenians too received Dorian settlers from Argos. They had been subject at even an earlier date to the Argives; Homer, too, in the Catalogue, says that their commander was Diomedes. For Diomedes and Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, who were guardians of the boy Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus, led the Argives to Troy. Sthenelus, as I have related above, came of a more illustrious family, called the Anaxagoridae, and he had the best claim to the Kingdom of Argos. Such is the story of the Troezenians, with the exception of the cities that claim to be their colonies. I will now proceed to describe the appointments of their sanctuaries and the remarkable sights of their country.

XXXI. In the market-place of Troezen is a temple of Artemis Saviour, with images of the goddess. It was said that the temple was founded and the name Saviour given by Theseus when he returned from Crete after overcoming Asterion the son of Minos. This victory he considered the most noteworthy of his achievements, not so much, in my opinion, because Asterion was the bravest of those killed by Theseus, but because his success in unravelling the difficult Maze and in escaping unnoticed after the

ἀποδρᾶναι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἐποίησεν εἰκότα τὸν λόγον ὡς προνοίᾳ θείᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνασωθείη
2 Θησεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐν τούτῳ δέ εἰσι τῷ ναῷ βωμοὶ θεῶν τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὸ γῆν ἄρχειν, καί φασιν ἐξ Ἅιδου Σεμέλην τε ὑπὸ Διονύσου κομισθῆναι ταύτῃ καὶ ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι τὸν κύνα τοῦ Ἅιδου· ἐγὼ δὲ Σεμέλην μὲν οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν ἀρχὴν πείθομαι Διός γε οὖσαν γυναῖκα, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἅιδου κύνα ἑτέρωθι ἔσται μοι δῆλα ὁποῖα εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ.

3 Ὄπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ Πιτθέως μνῆμά ἐστι, τρεῖς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ θρόνοι κεῖνται λίθου λευκοῦ· δικάζειν δὲ Πιτθέα καὶ ἄνδρας δύο σὺν αὐτῷ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν θρόνων. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἱερὸν Μουσῶν ἐστι, ποιῆσαι δὲ ἔλεγον αὐτὸ Ἄρδαλον παῖδα Ἡφαίστου· καὶ αὐλόν τε εὑρεῖν νομίζουσι τὸν Ἄρδαλον τοῦτον καὶ τὰς Μούσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλοῦσιν Ἀρδαλίδας. ἐνταῦθα Πιτθέα διδάξαι λόγων τέχνην φασί, καί τι βιβλίον Πιτθέως δὴ σύγγραμμα ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδοθὲν Ἐπιδαυρίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην. τοῦ Μουσείου δὲ οὐ πόρρω βωμός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος, Ἀρδάλου καὶ τοῦτον ὥς φασιν ἀναθέντος· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Μούσαις καὶ Ὕπνῳ θύουσι, λέγοντες τὸν Ὕπνον θεὸν μάλιστα εἶναι
4 φίλον ταῖς Μούσαις. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου Λυκείας ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐποίησεν Ἱππόλυτος· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν οὐδὲν εἶχον πυθέσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, ἀλλὰ ἢ λύκους ἐφαίνετό μοι τὴν Τροιζηνίαν λυμαινομένους ἐξελεῖν ὁ Ἱππόλυτος ἢ Ἀμαζόσι, παρ' ὧν τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἦν, ἐπίκλησις τῆς Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστιν αὕτη· εἴη δ' ἂν ἔτι καὶ ἄλλο

exploit made credible the saying that it was divine providence that brought Theseus and his company back in safety. In this temple are altars to the gods said to rule under the earth. It is here that they say Semele was brought out of Hell by Dionysus, and that Heracles dragged up the Hound of Hell.[1] But I cannot bring myself to believe even that Semele died at all, seeing that she was the wife of Zeus; while, as for the so-called Hound of Hell, I will give my views in another place.[2]

Behind the temple is the tomb of Pittheus, on which are placed three seats of white marble. On them they say that Pittheus and two men with him used to sit in judgment. Not far off is a sanctuary of the Muses, made, they told me, by Ardalus, son of Hephaestus. This Ardalus they hold to have invented the flute, and after him they name the Muses Ardalides. Here, they say, Pittheus taught the art of rhetoric, and I have myself read a book purporting to be a treatise by Pittheus, published by a citizen of Epidaurus. Not far from the Muses' Hall is an old altar, which also, according to report, was dedicated by Ardalus. Upon it they sacrifice to the Muses and to Sleep, saying that Sleep is the god that is dearest to the Muses. Near the theatre a temple of Artemis Lycea (*Wolfish*) was made by Hippolytus. About this surname I could learn nothing from the local guides, but I gathered that either Hippolytus destroyed wolves that were ravaging the land of Troezen, or else that Lycea is a surname of Artemis among the Amazons, from whom he was descended through his mother. Perhaps there may be another explanation that I am

[1] Cerberus, the fabulous watch-dog.

[2] Pausanias III. xxv. § 6.

οὐ γινωσκόμενον ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ. τὸν δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ λίθον, καλούμενον δὲ ἱερόν, εἶναι λέγουσιν ἐφ' οὗ ποτε ἄνδρες Τροιζηνίων ἐννέα Ὀρέστην
5 ἐκάθηραν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρός. εἰσὶ δὲ οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Λυκείας Ἀρτέμιδος βωμοὶ διεστηκότες οὐ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων· ὁ μὲν πρῶτός ἐστιν αὐτῶν Διονύσου κατὰ δή τι μάντευμα ἐπίκλησιν Σαώτου, δεύτερος δὲ Θεμίδων ὀνομαζόμενος· Πιτθεὺς τοῦτον ἀνέθηκεν, ὡς λέγουσιν. Ἡλίου δὲ Ἐλευθερίου καὶ σφόδρα εἰκότι λόγῳ δοκοῦσί μοι ποιῆσαι βωμόν, ἐκφυγόντες δουλείαν ἀπὸ Ξέρξου
6 τε καὶ Περσῶν. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Θεαρίου κατασκευάσαι μὲν Πιτθέα ἔφασαν, ἔστι δὲ ὧν οἶδα παλαιότατον. ἀρχαῖος μὲν οὖν καὶ Φωκαεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃν Ἄρπαγός ποτε ὁ Μῆδος ἐνέπρησεν, ἀρχαῖος δὲ καὶ Σαμίοις Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου· πλὴν πολύ γε ὕστερον τοῦ παρὰ Τροιζηνίοις ἐποιήθησαν. ἄγαλμα δέ ἐστι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνάθημα Αὐλίσκου, τέχνη δὲ Ἕρμωνος Τροιζηνίου· τοῦ δὲ Ἕρμωνος τούτου
7 καὶ τὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ξόανά ἐστι. κεῖνται δὲ ἐν στοᾷ τῆς ἀγορᾶς γυναῖκες λίθου καὶ αὐταὶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες. εἰσὶ δὲ ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι Τροιζηνίοις γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα ἔδωκαν σώζειν, ἐκλιπεῖν σφισιν ἀρέσαν τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ τὸν Μῆδον ἐπιόντα ὑπομεῖναι. λέγονται δὲ οὐ πασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν—οὐ γὰρ δὴ πολλαί τινες ἐκεῖναι—, ὁπόσαι δὲ ἀξιώματι προεῖχον, τούτων εἰκόνας
8 ἀναθεῖναι μόνων. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν οἰκοδόμημα ἔμπροσθεν, Ὀρέστου καλούμενον σκηνή. πρὶν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ αἵματι καθαρθῆναι τῆς μητρός, Τροιζηνίων οὐδεὶς πρότερον

unaware of. The stone in front of the temple, called the Sacred Stone, they say is that on which nine men of Troezen once purified Orestes from the stain of matricide. Not far from Artemis Lycea are altars close to one another. The first of them is to Dionysus, surnamed, in accordance with an oracle, Saotes (*Saviour*); the second is named the altar of the Themides (*Laws*), and was dedicated, they say, by Pittheus. They had every reason, it seems to me, for making an altar to Helius Eleutherius (*Sun, God of Freedom*), seeing that they escaped being enslaved by Xerxes and the Persians. The sanctuary of Thearian Apollo, they told me, was set up by Pittheus; it is the oldest I know of. Now the Phocaeans, too, in Ionia have an old temple of Athena, which was once burnt by Harpagus the Persian, and the Samians also have an old one of Pythian Apollo; these, however, were built much later than the sanctuary at Troezen. The modern image was dedicated by Auliscus, and made by Hermon of Troezen. This Hermon made also the wooden images of the Dioscuri. Under a portico in the market-place are set up women; both they and their children are of stone. They are the women and children whom the Athenians gave to the Troezenians to be kept safe, when they had resolved to evacuate Athens and not to await the attack of the Persians by land. They are said to have dedicated likenesses, not of all the women—for, as a matter of fact, the statues are not many—but only of those who were of high rank. In front of the sanctuary of Apollo is a building called the Booth of Orestes. For before he was cleansed for shedding his mother's blood, no

ἤθελεν αὐτὸν οἴκῳ δέξασθαι· καθίσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐκάθαιρον καὶ εἱστίων, ἐς ὃ ἀφήγνισαν. καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ ἀπόγονοι τῶν καθηράντων ἐνταῦθα δειπνοῦσιν ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς. κατορυχθέντων δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τῶν καθαρσίων φασὶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναφῦναι δάφνην, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔστιν,
9 ἡ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ταύτης. καθῆραι δέ φασιν Ὀρέστην καθαρσίοις καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ ὕδατι τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἵππου κρήνης. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Τροιζηνίοις Ἵππου καλουμένη κρήνη, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐς αὐτὴν οὐ διαφόρως τῷ Βοιωτῶν ἔχει· Πηγάσῳ γὰρ τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνεῖναι τὴν γῆν θιγόντι τοῦ ἐδάφους τῇ ὁπλῇ, Βελλεροφόντην δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἐς Τροιζῆνα γυναῖκα αἰτήσοντα Αἴθραν παρὰ Πιτθέως, πρὶν δὲ γῆμαι συμβῆναί οἱ φυγεῖν ἐκ Κορίνθου.

10 Καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐνταῦθά ἐστι Πολύγιος καλούμενος. πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ ἀγάλματι τὸ ῥόπαλον θεῖναί φασιν Ἡρακλέα· καὶ—ἦν γὰρ κοτίνου—τοῦτο μὲν ὅτῳ πιστὰ ἐνέφυ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνεβλάστησεν αὖθις καὶ ἔστιν ὁ κότινος πεφυκὼς ἔτι, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα λέγουσιν ἀνευρόντα τὸν πρὸς τῇ Σαρωνίδι κότινον ἀπὸ τούτου τεμεῖν ῥόπαλον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Σωτῆρος· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βασιλεύοντα Ἀέτιον τὸν Ἄνθα λέγουσιν. ὕδωρ δὲ ὀνομάζουσι Χρυσορόαν· αὐχμοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ ἔτη συμβάντος σφίσιν ἐννέα, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὗεν ὁ θεός, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀναξηρανθῆναί φασιν ὕδατα, τὸν δὲ Χρυσορόαν τοῦτον καὶ τότε ὁμοίως διαμεῖναι ῥέοντα.

citizen of Troezen would receive him into his home; so they lodged him here and gave him entertainment while they cleansed him, until they had finished the purification. Down to the present day the descendants of those who cleansed Orestes dine here on appointed days. A little way from the booth were buried, they say, the means of cleansing, and from them grew up a bay tree, which, indeed, still remains, being the one before this booth. Among the means of cleansing which they say they used to cleanse Orestes was water from Hippocrene (*Horse's Fount*); for the Troezenians too have a fountain called the Horse's, and the legend about it does not differ from the one which prevails in Boeotia. For they, too, say that the earth sent up the water when the horse Pegasus struck the ground with his hoof, and that Bellerophontes came to Troezen to ask Pittheus to give him Aethra to wife, but before the marriage took place he was banished from Corinth.

Here there is also a Hermes called Polygius. Against this image, they say, Heracles leaned his club. Now this club, which was of wild olive, taking root in the earth (if anyone cares to believe the story), grew up again and is still alive; Heracles, they say, discovering the wild olive by the Saronic Sea, cut a club from it. There is also a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Saviour, which, they say, was made by Aëtius, the son of Anthas, when he was king. To a water they give the name River of Gold. They say that when the land was afflicted with a drought for nine years, during which no rain fell, all the other waters dried up, but this River of Gold even then continued to flow as before.

XXXII. Ἱππολύτῳ δὲ τῷ Θησέως τέμενός τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἀνεῖται καὶ ναὸς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον. ταῦτα μὲν Διομήδην λέγουσι ποιῆσαι καὶ προσέτι θῦσαι τῷ Ἱππολύτῳ πρῶτον· Τροιζηνίοις δὲ ἱερεὺς μέν ἐστιν Ἱππολύτου τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα ἱερώμενος καὶ θυσίαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπέτειοι, δρῶσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε· ἑκάστη παρθένος πλόκαμον ἀποκείρεταί οἱ πρὸ γάμου, κειραμένη δὲ ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸν ναὸν φέρουσα. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συρέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων οὐδὲ τὸν τάφον ἀποφαίνουσιν εἰδότες· τὸν δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ καλούμενον ἡνίοχον, τοῦτον εἶναι νομίζουσιν ἐκεῖνον Ἱππόλυτον τιμὴν παρὰ θεῶν ταύτην ἔχοντα. 2 τούτου δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐπιβατηρίου, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα ἐκφυγόντος τὸν χειμῶνα ὃς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπεγένετο ἀπὸ Ἰλίου κομιζομένοις· καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων Διομήδην πρῶτον θεῖναί φασι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. ἐς δὲ τὴν Δαμίαν καὶ Αὐξησίαν—καὶ γὰρ Τροιζηνίοις μέτεστιν αὐτῶν—οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ὃν Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Λιγινῆται λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἀφικέσθαι παρθένους ἐκ Κρήτης· στασιασάντων δὲ ὁμοίως τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἁπάντων καὶ ταύτας φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν καταλευσθῆναι, καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγουσί σφισι Λιθοβόλια ὀνομάζοντες. 3 κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ περιβόλου μέρος στάδιόν ἐστιν Ἱππολύτου καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀφροδίτης Κατασκοπίας· αὐτόθεν γάρ, ὁπότε γυμνάζοιτο ὁ Ἱππόλυτος, ἀπέβλεπεν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐρῶσα ἡ Φαίδρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔτι πεφύκει ἡ μυρσίνη, τὰ φύλλα ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔγραψα ἔχουσα

XXXII. To Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, is devoted a very famous precinct, in which is a temple with an old image. Diomedes, they say, made these, and, moreover, was the first to sacrifice to Hippolytus. The Troezenians have a priest of Hippolytus, who holds his sacred office for life, and annual sacrifices have been established. They also observe the following custom. Every maiden before marriage cuts off a lock for Hippolytus, and, having cut it, she brings it to the temple and dedicates it. They will not have it that he was dragged to death by his horses, and, though they know his grave, they do not show it. But they believe that what is called the Charioteer in the sky is the Hippolytus of the legend, such being the honour he enjoys from the gods. Within this enclosure is a temple of Apollo Seafaring, an offering of Diomedes for having weathered the storm that came upon the Greeks as they were returning from Troy. They say that Diomedes was also the first to hold the Pythian games in honour of Apollo. Of Damia and Auxesia (for the Troezenians, too, share in their worship) they do not give the same account as the Epidaurians and Aeginetans, but say that they were maidens who came from Crete. A general insurrection having arisen in the city, these too, they say, were stoned to death by the opposite party; and they hold a festival in their honour that they call Stoning. In the other part of the enclosure is a race-course called that of Hippolytus, and above it a temple of Aphrodite Spy. For from here, whenever Hippolytus practised his exercises, Phaedra, who was in love with him, used to gaze upon him. Here there still grew the myrtle, with its leaves, as I have

τετρυπημένα· καὶ ἡνίκα ἠπορεῖτο ἡ Φαίδρα καὶ
ῥαστώνην τῷ ἔρωτι οὐδεμίαν εὕρισκεν, ἐς ταύτης
4 τὰ φύλλα ἐσιναμώρει τῆς μυρσίνης. ἔστι δὲ καὶ
τάφος Φαίδρας, ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ Ἱππολύ-
του μνήματος· τὸ δὲ οὐ πόρρω κέχωσται τῆς
μυρσίνης. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησε
μὲν Τιμόθεος, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ οὐκ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀλλὰ
εἰκόνα Ἱππολύτου φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ οἰκίαν ἰδὼν
οἶδα Ἱππολύτου· πρὸ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστιν Ἡράκλειος
καλουμένη κρήνη, τὸ ὕδωρ ὡς οἱ Τροιζήνιοι λέ-
5 γουσιν ἀνευρόντος Ἡρακλέους. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκρο-
πόλει τῆς Σθενιάδος καλουμένης ναός ἐστιν
Ἀθηνᾶς, αὐτὸ δὲ εἰργάσατο τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ξόανον
Κάλλων Αἰγινήτης· μαθητὴς δὲ ὁ Κάλλων ἦν
Τεκταίου καὶ Ἀγγελίωνος, οἳ Δηλίοις ἐποίησαν
τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ὁ δὲ Ἀγγελίων καὶ
Τεκταῖος παρὰ Διποίνῳ καὶ Σκύλλιδι ἐδιδά-
6 χθησαν. κατιόντων δὲ αὐτόθεν Λυτηρίου Πανός
ἐστιν ἱερόν· Τροιζηνίων γὰρ τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς
ἔχουσιν ἔδειξεν ὀνείρατα ἃ εἶχεν ἄκεσιν λοιμοῦ
πιέσαντος τὴν Τροιζηνίαν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μάλιστα.
διαβὰς δὲ καὶ ναὸν ἂν ἴδοις Ἴσιδος καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν
Ἀφροδίτης Ἀκραίας· τὸν μὲν ἄτε ἐν μητροπόλει
τῇ Τροιζῆνι Ἁλικαρνασσεῖς ἐποίησαν, τὸ δὲ
ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἴσιδος ἀνέθηκε Τροιζηνίων δῆμος.
7 Ἰοῦσι δὲ τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρέων ἐς Ἑρμιόνην πηγή
τέ ἐστι τοῦ Ἁλικοῦ ποταμοῦ, Ταυρίου δὲ τὸ
ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλουμένου, καὶ πέτρα Θησέως ὀνο-
μαζομένη, μεταβαλοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἀνελο-
μένου Θησέως ὑπ' αὐτῆς κρηπῖδας τὰς Αἰγέως
καὶ ξίφος· πρότερον δὲ βωμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο Σθενίου

described above, pierced with holes. When Phaedra was in despair and could find no relief for her passion, she used to vent her spleen upon the leaves of this myrtle. There is also the grave of Phaedra, not far from the tomb of Hippolytus, which is a barrow near the myrtle. The image of Asclepius was made by Timotheus, but the Troezenians say that it is not Asclepius, but a likeness of Hippolytus. I remember, too, seeing the house of Hippolytus; before it is what is called the Fountain of Heracles, for Heracles, say the Troezenians, discovered the water. On the citadel is a temple of Athena, called Sthenias. The wooden image itself of the goddess was made by Callon, of Aegina. Callon was a pupil of Tectaeus and Angelion, who made the image of Apollo for the Delians. Angelion and Tectaeus were trained in the school of Dipoenus and Scyllis. On going down from here you come to a sanctuary of Pan Lyterius (*Releasing*), so named because he showed to the Troezenian magistrates dreams which supplied a cure for the epidemic that had afflicted Troezenia, and the Athenians more than any other people. Having crossed the sanctuary, you can see a temple of Isis, and above it one of Aphrodite of the Height. The temple of Isis was made by the Halicarnassians in Troezen, because this is their mother-city, but the image of Isis was dedicated by the people of Troezen. Early fifth cent. B.C.

On the road that leads through the mountains to Hermione is a spring of the river Hyllicus, originally called Taurius (*Bull-like*), and a rock called the Rock of Theseus; when Theseus took up the boots and sword of Aegeus under it, it, too, changed its name, for before it was called the altar

Διός. τῆς δὲ πέτρας πλησίον Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν
ἱερὸν Νυμφίας, ποιήσαντος Θησέως ἡνίκα ἔσχε
8 γυναῖκα Ἑλένην. ἔστι δὲ ἔξω τείχους καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν Φυταλμίου· μηνίσαντα γάρ σφισι
τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ποιεῖν φασιν ἄκαρπον τὴν χώραν
ἅλμης ἐς τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰς ῥίζας
καθικνουμένης, ἐς ὃ θυσίαις τε εἶξας καὶ εὐχαῖς
οὐκέτι ἅλμην ἀνῆκεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ
Ποσειδῶνος τὸν ναόν ἐστι Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος,
9 Ἀλθήπου καθὰ λέγουσιν ἱδρυσαμένου. καταβαίνουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς τῇ Κελενδέρει καλουμένῃ λιμένα χωρίον ἐστὶν ὃ Γενέθλιον ὀνομάζουσι,
τεχθῆναι Θησέα ἐνταῦθα λέγοντες. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ
χωρίου τούτου ναός ἐστιν Ἄρεως, Θησέως καὶ
ἐνταῦθα Ἀμαζόνας μάχῃ κρατήσαντος· αὗται δ'
ἂν εἴησαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ πρὸς Θησέα καὶ
10 Ἀθηναίους ἀγωνισαμένων. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ τὴν
Ψιφαίαν πορευομένοις κότινος πέφυκεν ὀνομαζόμενος ῥᾶχος στρεπτός. ῥάχους μὲν δὴ καλοῦσι
Τροιζήνιοι πᾶν ὅσον ἄκαρπον ἐλαίας, κότινον
καὶ φυλίαν καὶ ἔλαιον· στρεπτὸν δὲ ἐπονομάζουσι τοῦτον, ὅτι ἐνσχεθεισῶν αὐτῷ τῶν ἡνιῶν
ἀνετράπη τοῦ Ἱππολύτου τὸ ἅρμα. τούτου δὲ
οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σαρωνίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀφέστηκε τὸ
ἱερόν, καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸ ἐμήνυσεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι.
τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι διηλώσω· Σαρώνια γὰρ δὴ κατὰ
ἔτος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι.

XXXIII. Νῆσοι δέ εἰσι Τροιζηνίοις μία μὲν
πλησίον τῆς ἠπείρου, καὶ διαβῆναι ποσὶν ἐς
αὐτὴν ἔστιν· αὕτη Σφαιρία ὀνομαζομένη πρότερον

of Zeus Sthenius (*Strong*). Near the rock is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Nymphia (*Bridal*), made by Theseus when he took Helen to wife. Outside the wall there is also a sanctuary of Poseidon Nurturer (*Phytalmios*). For they say that, being wroth with them, Poseidon smote the land with barrenness, brine (*halme*) reaching the seeds and the roots of the plants (*phyta*),[1] until, appeased by sacrifices and prayers, he ceased to send up the brine upon the earth. Above the temple of Poseidon is Demeter Law-bringer (*Thesmophoros*), set up, they say, by Althepus. On going down to the harbour at what is called Celenderis, you come to a place called Birthplace (*Genethlion*), where Theseus is said to have been born. Before this place is a temple of Ares, for here also did Theseus conquer the Amazons in battle. These must have belonged to the army that strove in Attica against Theseus and the Athenians. As you make your way to the Psiphaean Sea you see a wild olive growing, which they call the Bent *Rhacos*. The Troezenians call *rhacos* every kind of barren olive—*cotinos, phylia,* or *elaios*—and this tree they call Bent because it was when the reins caught in it that the chariot of Hippolytus was upset. Not far from this stands the sanctuary of Saronian Artemis, and I have already given an account of it. I must add that every year they hold in honour of Artemis a festival called Saronia.

XXXIII. The Troezenians possess islands, one of which is near the mainland, and it is possible to wade across the channel. This was formerly called

[1] The epithet *phytalmios* means *nourishing*, but to judge from the story he gives, Pausanias must have connected it with the Greek words for *brine* and *plant*.

Ἱερὰ δι' αἰτίαν ἐκλήθη τοιαύτην. ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ Σφαίρου μνῆμα· Πέλοπος δὲ ἡνίοχον εἶναι λέγουσι τὸν Σφαῖρον. τούτῳ κατὰ δή τι ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ὄνειρον κομίζουσα Αἴθρα χοὰς διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, διαβάσῃ δὲ ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ποσειδῶνα μιχθῆναι. ἱδρύσατο μὲν διὰ τοῦτο Αἴθρα ναὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀπατουρίας καὶ Ἱερὰν ἀντὶ Σφαιρίας ὠνόμασε τὴν νῆσον· κατεστήσατο δὲ καὶ ταῖς Τροιζηνίων παρθένοις ἀνατιθέναι πρὸ γάμου τὴν ζώνην τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀπατουρίᾳ.
2 Καλαύρειαν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὰν τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὅτε περ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Δελφοὶ Ποσειδῶνος· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ἀντιδοῦναι τὰ χωρία σφᾶς ἀλλήλοις. φασὶ δὲ ἔτι καὶ λόγιον μνημονεύουσιν·

Ἴσόν τοι Δῆλόν τε Καλαύρειάν τε νέμεσθαι
Πυθώ τ' ἠγαθέην καὶ Ταίναρον ἠνεμόεσσαν.

ἔστι δ' οὖν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα ἄγιον, ἱεραῖται δὲ αὐτῷ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὥραν προ-
3 έλθῃ γάμου. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς καὶ τὸ Δημοσθένους μνῆμά ἐστι. καί μοι τὸ δαιμόνιον δεῖξαι μάλιστα ἐπὶ τούτου δοκεῖ καὶ Ὁμήρου πρότερον ὡς εἴη βάσκανον, εἰ δὴ Ὄμηρον μὲν προδιεφθαρμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ κακῷ κακὸν δεύτερον πενία πιέζουσα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν πτωχεύοντα ἦγε, Δημοσθένει δὲ φυγῆς τε συνέπεσεν ἐν γήρᾳ λαβεῖν πεῖραν καὶ ὁ θάνατος ἐγένετο οὕτω βίαιος. εἴρηται μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ

Sphaeria, but its name was changed to Sacred Island for the following reason. In it is the tomb of Sphaerus, who, they say, was charioteer to Pelops. In obedience forsooth to a dream from Athena, Aethra crossed over into the island with libations for Sphaerus. After she had crossed, Poseidon is said to have had intercourse with her here. So for this reason Aethra set up here a temple of Athena Apaturia,[1] and changed the name from Sphaeria to Sacred Island. She also established a custom for the Troezenian maidens of dedicating their girdles before wedlock to Athena Apaturia. Calaurea, they say, was sacred to Apollo of old, at the time when Delphi was sacred to Poseidon. Legend adds that the two gods exchanged the two places. They still say this, and quote an oracle :—

"Delos and Calaurea alike thou lovest to dwell in,
Pytho, too, the holy, and Taenarum swept by the high winds."

At any rate, there is a holy sanctuary of Poseidon here, and it is served by a maiden priestess until she reaches an age fit for marriage. Within the enclosure is also the tomb of Demosthenes. His fate, and that of Homer before him, have, in my opinion, showed most plainly how spiteful the deity is ; for Homer, after losing his sight, was, in addition to this great affliction, cursed with a second—a poverty which drove him in beggary to every land ; while to Demosthenes it befell to experience exile in his old age and to meet with such a violent end. Now, although concerning him,

[1] Apparently here derived from the Greek word for deceit.

καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτῷ Δημοσθένει πλεῖστα, ἢ μὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἃ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἤγαγεν Ἅρπαλος
4 μὴ μεταλαβεῖν αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ ὕστερον λεχθὲν ἐπέξειμι ὁποῖον ἐγένετο. Ἅρπαλος μὲν ὡς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀπέδρα διαβὰς ναυσὶν ἐς Κρήτην, οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπευόντων ἀπέθανεν οἰκετῶν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνος Παυσανίου δολοφονηθῆναί φασιν αὐτόν. τὸν δέ οἱ τῶν χρημάτων διοικητὴν φυγόντα ἐς Ῥόδον Φιλόξενος Μακεδὼν συνέλαβεν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐξῄτησεν Ἅρπαλον. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἔχων ἤλεγχεν ἐς ὃ πάντα ἐπύθετο, ὅσοι τῶν Ἁρπάλου τι ἔτυχον εἰληφότες· μαθὼν δὲ ἐς
5 Ἀθήνας γράμματα ἐπέστελλεν. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς γράμμασι τοὺς λαβόντας παρὰ Ἁρπάλου καταριθμῶν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁπόσον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν ἕκαστος οὐδὲ ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀρχὴν Δημοσθένους, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀπεχθανομένου καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ προσκρούσας.

Δημοσθένει μὲν οὖν τιμαὶ καὶ ἑτέρωθι τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ παρὰ τῶν Καλαυρείας εἰσὶν οἰκητόρων· XXXIV. τῆς δὲ Τροιζηνίας γῆς ἐστιν ἰσθμὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ διέχων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ πόλισμα οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Μέθανα ᾠκίσται. Ἴσιδος δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν ἐστι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Ἡρακλέους. τοῦ δὲ πολίσματος τριάκοντά που στάδια ἀπέχει θερμὰ λουτρά· φασὶ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντος τότε πρῶτον τὸ ὕδωρ φανῆναι, φανῆναι δὲ οὐχ ὕδωρ εὐθὺς ἀλλὰ πῦρ ἀναζέσαι πολὺ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ

not only others, but Demosthenes himself, have again and again declared that assuredly he took no part of the money that Harpalus brought from Asia, yet I must relate the circumstances of the statement made subsequently. Shortly after Harpalus ran away from Athens and crossed with a squadron to Crete, he was put to death by the servants who were attending him, though some assert that he was assassinated by Pausanias, a Macedonian. The steward of his money fled to Rhodes, and was arrested by a Macedonian, Philoxenus, who also had demanded Harpalus from the Athenians. Having this slave in his power, he proceeded to examine him, until he learned everything about such as had allowed themselves to accept a bribe from Harpalus. On obtaining this information he sent a dispatch to Athens, in which he gave a list of such as had taken a bribe from Harpalus, both their names and the sums each had received. Demosthenes, however, he never mentioned at all, although Alexander held him in bitter hatred, and he himself had a private quarrel with him.

So Demosthenes is honoured in many parts of Greece, and especially by the dwellers in Calaurea. XXXIV. Stretching out far into the sea from Troezenia is a peninsula, on the coast of which has been founded a little town called Methana. Here there is a sanctuary of Isis, and on the market-place is an image of Hermes, and also one of Heracles. Some thirty stades distant from the town are hot baths. They say that it was when Antigonus, son of Demetrius, was king of Macedon that the water first appeared, and that what appeared at once was not water, but fire that gushed in great

μαρανθέντι ῥυῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς
ἄνεισι θερμόν τε καὶ δεινῶς ἁλμυρόν. λουσαμένῳ
δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς ψυχρὸν οὔτε
ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκινδύνως νήχεσθαι·
θηρία γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ κύνας παρέχεται πλεί-
2 στους. ὃ δὲ ἐθαύμασα ἐν τοῖς Μεθάνοις μάλιστα,
γράψω καὶ τοῦτο. ἄνεμος ὁ Λὶψ βλαστανούσαις
ταῖς ἀμπέλοις ἐμπίπτων ἐκ τοῦ Σαρωνικοῦ κόλ-
που τὴν βλάστην σφῶν ἀφαναίνει· κατιόντος οὖν
ἔτι τοῦ πνεύματος ἀλεκτρυόνα τὰ πτερὰ ἔχοντα
διὰ παντὸς λευκὰ διελόντες ἄνδρες δύο ἐναντίοι
περιθέουσι τὰς ἀμπέλους, ἥμισυ ἑκάτερος τοῦ
ἀλεκτρυόνος φέρων· ἀφικόμενοι δ' ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ
3 ὅθεν ὡρμήθησαν, κατορύσσουσιν ἐνταῦθα. τοῦτο
μὲν πρὸς τὸν Λίβα σφίσιν ἐστὶν εὑρημένον· τὰς
δὲ νησῖδας αἳ πρόκεινται τῆς χώρας ἀριθμὸν
ἐννέα οὔσας Πέλοπος μὲν καλοῦσι, τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ
ὄντος μίαν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὔ φασιν ὔεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ
εἰ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οὐκ οἶδα, ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ περὶ τὰ
Μέθανα, ἐπεὶ χάλαζάν γε ἤδη θυσίαις εἶδον καὶ
ἐπῳδαῖς ἀνθρώπους ἀποτρέποντας.

4 Τὰ μὲν δὴ Μέθανα ἰσθμός ἐστι τῆς Πελοπον-
νήσου· ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τῆς Τροιζηνίων
ὅμορός ἐστιν Ἑρμιόνη. οἰκιστὴν δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας
πόλεως Ἑρμιονεῖς γενέσθαι φασὶν Ἑρμίονα Εὔρω-
πος. τὸν δὲ Εὔρωπα—ἦν γὰρ δὴ Φορωνέως—
Ἡροφάνης ὁ Τροιζήνιος ἔφασκεν εἶναι νόθον· οὐ
γὰρ δή ποτε ἐς Ἄργον τὸν Νιόβης θυγατριδοῦν
ὄντα Φορωνέως τὴν ἐν Ἄργει περιελθεῖν ἂν
5 ἀρχὴν παρόντος Φορωνεῖ γνησίου παιδός. ἐγὼ
δέ, εἰ καὶ γνήσιον ὄντα Εὔρωπα πρότερον τὸ
χρεὼν ἢ Φορωνέα ἐπέλαβεν, εὖ οἶδα ὡς οὐκ

volume from the ground, and when this died down the water flowed; indeed, even at the present day it wells up hot and exceedingly salt. A bather here finds no cold water at hand, and if he dives into the sea his swim is full of danger. For wild creatures live in it, and it swarms with sharks. I will also relate what astonished me most in Methana. The wind called Lips,[1] striking the budding vines from the Saronic Gulf, blights their buds. So while the wind is still rushing on, two men cut in two a cock whose feathers are all white, and run round the vines in opposite directions, each carrying half of the cock. When they meet at their starting place, they bury the pieces there. Such are the means they have devised against the Lips. The islets, nine in number, lying off the land are called the Isles of Pelops, and they say that when it rains one of them is not touched. If this be the case I do not know, though the people around Methana said that it was true, and I have seen before now men trying to keep off hail by sacrifices and spells.

Methana, then, is a peninsula of the Peloponnesus. Within it, bordering on the land of Troezen, is Hermione. The founder of the old city, the Hermionians say, was Hermion, the son of Europs. Now Europs, whose father was certainly Phoroneus, Herophanes of Troezen said was an illegitimate child. For surely the kingdom of Argos would never have devolved upon Argus, Niobe's son, the grandchild of Phoroneus, in the presence of a legitimate son. But even supposing that Europs was a legitimate child who died before Phoroneus, I am quite sure that his son was not likely to stand

[1] A S.W. wind.

ἔμελλεν ὁ παῖς αὐτῷ Νιόβης παιδὶ ἴσα οἰσέσθαι Διός γε εἶναι δοκοῦντι. ἐπῴκησαν δὲ καὶ Ἑρμιόνα ὕστερον Δωριεῖς οἱ ἐξ Ἄργους· πόλεμον δὲ οὐ δοκῶ γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων.

6 Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ἐκ Τροιζῆνος κατὰ τὴν πέτραν ἣ πρότερον μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Σθενίου Διὸς βωμός, μετὰ δὲ Θησέα ἀνελόμενον τὰ γνωρίσματα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ νῦν Θησέως αὐτήν. κατὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν πέτραν ἰοῦσιν ὀρεινὴ ὁδός, ἔστι μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Πλατανιστίου ναός, ἔστι δὲ Εἰλεοῦς χωρίον, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερά· τὰ δὲ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐν ὄροις τῆς Ἑρμιονίδος ἱερὸν Δήμητρός ἐστιν
7 ἐπίκλησιν Θερμασίας. σταδίους δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπέχει μάλιστα ἄκρα Σκυλλαῖον ἀπὸ τῆς Νίσου καλουμένη θυγατρός. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὴν Νίσαιαν ὁ Μίνως καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα εἶλεν ἐκείνης προδούσης, οὔτε γυναῖκα ἔξειν αὐτὴν ἔτι ἔφασκε καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐκβάλλειν τῆς νεώς· ἀποθανοῦσαν δὲ ἀπέρριψεν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ταύτην ὁ κλύδων. τάφον δὲ οὐκ ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ περιοφθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν φασι διαφορηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ
8 θαλάσσης ὀρνέων. ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυλλαίου πλέοντι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄκρα τέ ἐστιν ἑτέρα Βουκέφαλα καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν νῆσοι, πρώτη μὲν Ἁλιοῦσσα —παρέχεται δὲ αὕτη λιμένα ἐνορμίσασθαι ναυσὶν ἐπιτήδειον—, μετὰ δὲ Πιτυοῦσσα, τρίτη δὲ ἣν Ἀριστερὰς ὀνομάζουσι. ταύτας δὲ παραπλεύ-

a fair chance against Niobe's child, whose father was supposed to be Zeus. Subsequently the Dorians from Argos settled, among other places, at Hermion, but I do not think there was war between the two peoples, or it would have been spoken of by the Argives.

There is a road from Troezen to Hermion by way of the rock which aforetime was called the altar of Zeus Sthenius (*Strong*); but afterwards Theseus[1] took up the tokens, and people now call it the Rock of Theseus. As you go, then, along a mountain road by way of this rock, you reach a temple of Apollo surnamed Platanistius (*God of the Plane-tree Grove*), and a place called Eilei, where are sanctuaries of Demeter and of her daughter Core (*Maid*). Seawards, on the borders of Hermionis, is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Thermasia (*Warmth*). Just about eighty stades away is a headland Scyllaeum, which is named after the daughter of Nisus. For when, owing to her treachery,[2] Minos had taken Nisaea and Megara, he said that now he would not have her to wife, and ordered his Cretans to throw her from the ship. She was drowned, and the waves cast up her body on this headland. They do not show a grave of her, but say that the sea birds were allowed to tear the corpse to pieces. As you sail from Scyllaeum in the direction of the city, you reach another headland, called Bucephala (*Ox-head*), and, after the headland, islands, the first of which is Halimussa (*Salt Island*). This provides a harbour where there is good anchorage. After it comes Pityussa (*Pine Island*), and the third they call Aristerae. On

[1] See Pausanias I. xxvii. § 8, and II. xxxii. § 7.
[2] See Pausanias I. xix.

σαντί ἐστιν αὖθις ἄκρα Κωλυεργία ἀνέχουσα ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν νῆσος Τρίκρανα καλουμένη καὶ ὄρος ἐς θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου προβεβλημένον Βούπορθμος. ἐν Βουπόρθμῳ δὲ πεποίηται μὲν ἱερὸν Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός, πεποίηται δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς· ἐπίκλησις δέ ἐστι
9 τῇ θεῷ Προμαχόρμα. πρόκειται δὲ Βουπόρθμου νῆσος Ἀπεροπία καλουμένη, τῆς δὲ Ἀπεροπίας ἀφέστηκεν οὐ πολὺ ἑτέρα νῆσος Τδρέα. μετὰ ταύτην αἰγιαλός τε παρήκει τῆς ἠπείρου μηνοειδὴς καὶ ἀκτὴ μετὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπὶ Ποσείδιον, ἐκ θαλάσσης μὲν ἀρχομένη τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολάς, προήκουσα δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ λιμένας ἐν αὐτῇ. μῆκος μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἐστιν ἑπτά που στάδια, πλάτος δὲ ᾗ πλατυτάτη στα-
10 δίων τριῶν οὐ πλέον. ἐνταῦθα ἡ προτέρα πόλις τοῖς Ἑρμιονεῦσιν ἦν. ἔστι δέ σφισι καὶ ἰὸν ἔτι ἱερὰ αὐτόθι, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς τῇ ἀρχῇ, προελθοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὰ μετέωρα ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ σταδίου θεμέλια· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας ἀγωνίσασθαι λέγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον οὐ μέγα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ὁ δὲ ὄροφος κατερρύηκεν αὐτῷ. καὶ Ἡλίῳ ναὸς καὶ ἄλλος Χάρισιν, ὁ δὲ Σαράπιδι ᾠκοδόμηται καὶ Ἴσιδι· καὶ περίβολοι μεγάλων λίθων λογάδων εἰσίν, ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἱερὰ δρῶσιν ἀπόρρητα Δήμητρι.

11 Τοσαῦτα μὲν Ἑρμιονεῦσίν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα· ἡ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλις ἀπέχει μὲν τῆς ἄκρας, ἐφ' ᾗ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἱερόν, τέσσαρας μάλιστα σταδίους, κειμένη δὲ ἐν ὁμαλῷ τὰ πρῶτα ἠρέμα ἐς πρόσαντες ἄνεισι, τὸ δὲ ἐστιν ἤδη τοῦ Πρωνός·

sailing past these you come to another headland, Colyergia, jutting out from the mainland, and after it to an island, called Tricrana (*Three Heads*), and a mountain, projecting into the sea from the Peloponnesus, called Buporthmus (*Ox-ford*). On Buporthmus has been built a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter, as well as one of Athena, surnamed Promachorma (*Champion of the Anchorage*). Before Buporthmus lies an island called Aperopia, not far from which is another island, Hydrea. After it the mainland is skirted by a crescent-shaped beach; and after the beach there is a spit of land up to a sanctuary of Poseidon, beginning at the sea on the east and extending westwards.[1] It possesses harbours, and is some seven stades in length, and not more than three stades in breadth where it is broadest. Here the Hermionians had their former city. They still have sanctuaries here; one of Poseidon at the east end of the spit, and a temple of Athena farther inland; by the side of the latter are the foundations of a race-course, in which legend says the sons of Tyndareus contended. There is also another sanctuary of Athena, of no great size, the roof of which has fallen in. There is a temple to Helius (*Sun*), another to the Graces, and a third to Serapis and Isis. There are also circuits of large unhewn stones, within which they perform mystic ritual to Demeter.

Such are the possessions of the Hermionians in these parts. The modern city is just about four stades distant from the headland, upon which is the sanctuary of Poseidon, and it lies on a site which is level at first, gently rising up a slope, which

[1] *i.e.* the spit runs eastward into the sea from the west.

Πρῶνα γὰρ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ὀνομάζουσι. τεῖχος μὲν δὴ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑρμιόνα ἔστηκε· τὰ δὲ ἐς συγγραφὴν καὶ ἄλλα παρείχετο καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ποιήσασθαι μάλιστα ἠξίωσα μνήμην. Ἀφροδίτης ναός ἐστιν ἐπίκλησιν Ποντίας καὶ Λιμενίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἄγαλμα δὲ λευκοῦ λίθου μεγέθει τε
12 μέγα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θέας ἄξιον. καὶ ναὸς ἕτερός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης· αὕτη καὶ ἄλλας ἔχει παρὰ Ἑρμιονέων τιμάς, καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις καὶ ἣν γυνὴ χηρεύουσα παρὰ ἄνδρα μέλλῃ φοιτᾶν, ἁπάσαις πρὸ γάμου θύειν καθέστηκεν ἐνταῦθα. Δήμητρος δὲ ἱερὰ πεποίηται Θερμασίας, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν ὅροις, ὡς ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ἤδη μοι, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει. XXXV. πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου ναὸς Μελαναίγιδος· τούτῳ μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἄγουσι, καὶ ἁμίλλης κολύμβου καὶ πλοίων τιθέασιν ἆθλα· καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπίκλησιν Ἰφιγενείας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ Ποσειδῶν χαλκοῦς τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἔχων ἐπὶ δελφῖνος. παρελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας, ἄγαλμα μέν ἐστιν οὐδέν, βωμὸς
2 δέ· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ θύουσιν Ἑστίᾳ. Ἀπόλλωνος δέ εἰσι ναοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα τρία· καὶ τῷ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπίκλησις, τὸν δὲ Πυθαέα ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Ὅριον τὸν τρίτον. τὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Πυθαέως ὄνομα μεμαθήκασι παρὰ Ἀργείων· τούτοις γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πρώτοις ἀφικέσθαι Τελέσιλλά φησι τὸν Πυθαέα ἐς τὴν χώραν Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα ὄντα· τὸν δὲ Ὅριον ἐφ' ὅτῳ καλοῦσιν, σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι εἰπεῖν, τεκμαίρομαι δὲ περὶ γῆς ὅρων πολέμῳ σφᾶς ἢ δίκῃ νικήσαντας

presently merges into Pron, for so they name this mountain. A wall stands all round Hermion, a city which I found afforded much to write about, and among the things which I thought I myself must certainly mention are a temple of Aphrodite, surnamed both Pontia (*of the Deep Sea*) and Limenia (*of the Harbour*), and a white-marble image of huge size, and worth seeing for its artistic excellence. There is also another temple of Aphrodite. Among the honours paid her by the Hermionians is this custom: maidens, and widows about to remarry, all sacrifice to her before wedding. Sanctuaries have also been built of Demeter Thermasia (*Warmth*), one at the border towards Troezenia, as I have stated above, while there is another in Hermion itself. XXXV. Near the latter is a temple of Dionysus of the Black Goatskin. In his honour every year they hold a competition in music, and they offer prizes for swimming-races and boat-races. There is also a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Iphigenia, and a bronze Poseidon with one foot upon a dolphin. Passing by this into the sanctuary of Hestia, we see no image, but only an altar, and they sacrifice to Hestia upon it. Of Apollo there are three temples and three images. One has no surname; the second they call Pythaeus, and the third Horius (*of the Borders*). The name Pythaeus they have learned from the Argives, for Telesilla[1] tells us that they were the first Greeks to whose country came Pythaeus, who was a son of Apollo. I cannot say for certain why they call the third Horius, but I conjecture that they won a victory, either in war or by arbitration, in a dispute concerning the borders

[1] See p. 353.

3 ἐπὶ τῷδε τιμὰς Ἀπόλλωνι Ὁρίῳ νεῖμαι. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Τύχης νεώτατον μὲν λέγουσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τῶν παρά σφισιν εἶναι, λίθου δὲ Παρίου κολοσσὸς ἕστηκεν. κρήνας δὲ τὴν μὲν σφόδρα ἔχουσιν ἀρχαίαν, ἐς δὲ αὐτὴν οὐ φανερῶς τὸ ὕδωρ κάτεισιν, ἐπιλείποι δὲ οὐκ ἄν ποτε, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες καταβάντες ὑδρεύοιντο ἐξ αὐτῆς· τὴν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πεποιήκασιν, ὄνομα δέ ἐστιν τῷ χωρίῳ Λειμών, ὅθεν ῥεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν.

4 Τὸ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον ἱερὸν Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πρωνός. τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν Ἑρμιονεῖς μὲν Κλύμενον Φορωνέως παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὴν Κλυμένου Χθονίαν τοὺς ἱδρυσαμένους φασὶν εἶναι. Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ὅτε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἦλθε Δημήτηρ, τότε Ἀθέραν μὲν λέγουσι καὶ Μύσιον ὡς ξενίαν παρασχοῖεν τῇ θεῷ, Κολόνταν δὲ οὔτε οἴκῳ δέξασθαι τὴν θεὸν οὔτε ἀπονεῖμαί τι ἄλλο ἐς τιμήν· ταῦτα δὲ οὐ κατὰ γνώμην Χθονίᾳ τῇ θυγατρὶ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. Κολόνταν μὲν οὖν φασιν ἀντὶ τούτων συγκαταπρησθῆναι τῇ οἰκίᾳ, Χθονίαν δὲ κομισθεῖσαν ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ὑπὸ Δήμητρος Ἑρμιο-
5 νεῦσι ποιῆσαι τὸ ἱερόν. Χθονία δ' οὖν ἡ θεός τε αὐτὴ καλεῖται καὶ Χθόνια ἑορτὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν ὥρᾳ θέρους, ἄγουσι δὲ οὕτως. ἡγοῦνται μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς πομπῆς οἵ τε ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐπετείους ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν, ἕπονται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες. τοῖς δὲ καὶ παισὶν ἔτι οὖσι καθέστηκεν ἤδη τὴν θεὸν τιμᾶν τῇ πομπῇ· οὗτοι λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχουσι στεφάνους. πλέκονται δὲ οἱ στέφανοι σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄνθους ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ταύτῃ κοσμοσάνδαλον,

(*horoi*) of their land, and for this reason paid honours to Apollo Horius. The sanctuary of Fortune is said by the Hermionians to be the newest in their city; a colossus of Parian marble stands there. Of their wells, one is very old; nobody can see the water flowing into it, but it would never run dry, even if everybody descended and drew water from it. Another well they made in our own day, and the name of the place from which the water flows into it is Leimon (*Meadow*).

The object most worthy of mention is a sanctuary of Demeter on Pron. This sanctuary is said by the Hermionians to have been founded by Clymenus, son of Phoroneus, and Chthonia, sister of Clymenus. But the Argive account is that when Demeter came to Argolis, while Atheras and Mysius afforded hospitality to the goddess, Colontas neither received her into his home nor paid her any other mark of respect. His daughter Chthonia disapproved of this conduct. They say that Colontas was punished by being burnt up along with his house, while Chthonia was brought to Hermion by Demeter, and made the sanctuary for the Hermionians. At any rate, the goddess herself is called Chthonia, and Chthonia is the name of the festival they hold in the summer of every year. The manner of it is this. The procession is headed by the priests of the gods and by all those who hold the annual magistracies; these are followed by both men and women. It is now a custom that some who are still children should honour the goddess in the procession. These are dressed in white, and wear wreaths upon their heads. Their wreaths are woven of the flower called by the natives *cosmosandalon*,

ὑάκινθον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ χρόᾳ· ἔπεστι δέ οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ γράμματα.
6 τοῖς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπουσιν ἕπονται τελείαν ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῦν ἄγοντες διειλημμένην δεσμοῖς τε καὶ ὑβρίζουσαν ἔτι ὑπὸ ἀγριότητος. ἐλάσαντες δὲ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν οἱ μὲν ἔσω φέρεσθαι τὴν βοῦν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνῆκαν ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀναπεπταμένας ἔχοντες τέως τὰς θύρας, ἐπειδὰν τὴν βοῦν ἴδωσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, προσέθεσαν τὰς
7 θύρας. τέσσαρες δὲ ἔνδον ὑπολειπόμεναι γραῖες, αὗται τὴν βοῦν εἰσιν αἱ κατεργαζόμεναι· δρεπάνῳ γὰρ ἥτις ἂν τύχῃ τὴν φάρυγγα ὑπέτεμε τῆς βοός. μετὰ δὲ αἱ θύραι τε ἠνοίχθησαν καὶ προσελαύνουσιν οἷς ἐπιτέτακται βοῦν δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλην τετάρτην. κατεργάζονταί τε δὴ πάσας κατὰ ταὐτὰ αἱ γραῖες καὶ τόδε ἄλλο πρόσκειται τῇ θυσίᾳ θαῦμα· ἐφ' ἥντινα γὰρ ἂν πέσῃ τῶν πλευρῶν ἡ πρώτη βοῦς, ἀνάγκη πεσεῖν
8 καὶ πάσας. θυσία μὲν δρᾶται τοῖς Ἑρμιονεῦσι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ γυναικῶν ἱερασαμένων τῇ Δήμητρι εἰκόνες ἑστήκασιν οὐ πολλαί, καὶ παρελθόντι ἔσω θρόνοι τέ εἰσιν, ἐφ' ὧν αἱ γραῖες ἀναμένουσιν ἐσελαθῆναι καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν βοῶν, καὶ ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἄγαν ἀρχαῖα Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Δημήτηρ. αὐτὸ δὲ ὃ σέβουσιν ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ τἄλλα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἶδον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος οὔτε ξένος οὔτε Ἑρμιονέων αὐτῶν· μόναι δὲ ὁποῖόν τί ἐστιν αἱ γραῖες ἴστωσαν.
9 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ναός· εἰκόνες δὲ περὶ πάντα ἑστήκασιν αὐτόν. οὗτος ὁ ναός ἐστιν ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ τῆς Χθονίας, καλεῖται δὲ Κλυμένου, καὶ τῷ

which, from its size and colour, seems to me to be an iris; it even has inscribed upon it the same letters of mourning.[1] Those who form the procession are followed by men leading from the herd a full-grown cow, fastened with ropes, and still untamed and frisky. Having driven the cow to the temple, some loose her from the ropes that she may rush into the sanctuary, others, who hitherto have been holding the doors open, when they see the cow within the temple, close to the doors. Four old women, left behind inside, are they who dispatch the cow. Whichever gets the chance cuts the throat of the cow with a sickle. Afterwards the doors are opened, and those who are appointed drive up a second cow, and a third after that, and yet a fourth. All are dispatched in the same way by the old women, and the sacrifice has yet another strange feature. On whichever of her sides the first cow falls, all the others must fall on the same. Such is the manner in which the sacrifice is performed by the Hermionians. Before the temple stand a few statues of the women who have served Demeter as her priestess, and on passing inside you see seats on which the old women wait for the cows to be driven in one by one, and images, of no great age, of Athena and Demeter. But the thing itself that they worship more than all else, I never saw, nor yet has any other man, whether stranger or Hermionian. The old women may keep their knowledge of its nature to themselves.

There is also another temple, all round which stand statues. This temple is right opposite that of Chthonia, and is called that of Clymenus, and they

[1] The letters AI, an exclamation of woe supposed to be inscribed on the flower.

Κλυμένῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. Κλύμενον δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα Ἀργεῖον ἐλθεῖν ἔγωγε ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ἡγοῦμαι, τοῦ θεοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐπίκλησις, ὄντινα ἔχει λόγος
10 βασιλέα ὑπὸ γῆν εἶναι. παρὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτόν ἐστιν ἄλλος ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἄρεως, τοῦ δὲ τῆς Χθονίας ἐστὶν ἱεροῦ στοὰ κατὰ τὴν δεξιάν, Ἠχοῦς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καλουμένη· φθεγξαμένῳ δὲ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ὀλίγιστα ἐς τρὶς ἀντιβοῆσαι πέφυκεν. ὄπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Χθονίας χωρία ἐστὶν ἃ καλοῦσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τὸ μὲν Κλυμένου, τὸ δὲ Πλούτωνος, τὸ τρίτον δὲ αὐτῶν λίμνην Ἀχερουσίαν. περιείργεται μὲν δὴ πάντα θριγκοῖς λίθων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τοῦ Κλυμένου καὶ γῆς χάσμα· διὰ τούτου δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνῆγε τοῦ Ἅιδου τὸν κύνα
11 κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑρμιονέων. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ, καθ' ἣν ὁδὸς εὐθεῖά ἐστιν ἄγουσα ἐπὶ Μάσητα, Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἱερόν. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ κατὰ ἡμέραν ἑκάστην καὶ θυσίαις καὶ θυμιάμασι μεγάλως τὴν θεὸν ἱλάσκονται καὶ ἀναθήματα δίδοται πλεῖστα τῇ Εἰλειθυίᾳ· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐδενὶ πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα ταῖς ἱερείαις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν.

XXXVI. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Μάσητα εὐθεῖαν προελθοῦσιν ἑπτά που σταδίους καὶ ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἐκτραπεῖσιν, ἐς Ἁλίκην ἐστὶν ὁδός. ἡ δὲ Ἁλίκη τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἔρημος, ᾠκεῖτο δὲ καὶ αὕτη ποτέ, καὶ Ἁλικῶν λόγος ἐν στήλαις ἐστὶ ταῖς Ἐπιδαυρίων αἳ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὰ ἰάματα ἐγγεγραμμένα ἔχουσιν· ἄλλο δὲ σύγγραμμα οὐδὲν οἶδα ἀξιόχρεων, ἔνθα ἢ πόλεως Ἁλίκης ἢ ἀνδρῶν ἐστιν Ἁλικῶν μνήμη. ἔστι δ' οὖν ὁδὸς καὶ ἐς ταύτην, τοῦ τε Πρωνὸς μέση καὶ ὄρους

sacrifice to Clymenus here. I do not believe that Clymenus was an Argive who came to Hermion; "Clymenus" is the surname of the god, whoever legend says is king in the underworld. Beside this temple is another; it is of Ares, and has an image of the god; while to the right of the sanctuary of Chthonia is a portico, called by the natives the Portico of Echo. It is such that if a man speaks it reverberates at least three times. Behind the temple of Chthonia are three places which the Hermionians call that of Clymenus, that of Pluto, and the Acherusian Lake. All are surrounded by fences of stones, while in the place of Clymenus there is also a chasm in the earth. Through this, according to the legend of the Hermionians, Heracles brought up the Hound of Hell. At the gate through which there is a straight road leading to Mases, there is a sanctuary of Eileithyia within the wall. Every day, both with sacrifices and with incense, they magnificently propitiate the goddess, and, moreover, there is a vast number of votive gifts offered to Eileithyia. But the image no one may see, except, perhaps, the priestesses.

XXXVI. Proceeding about seven stades along the straight road to Mases, you reach, on turning to the left, a road to Halice. At the present day Halice is deserted, but once it, too, had inhabitants, and there is mention made of citizens of Halice on the Epidaurian slabs on which are inscribed the cures of Asclepius. I know, however, no other authentic document in which mention is made either of the city Halice or of its citizens. Well, to this city also there is a road, which lies midway between Pron

ἑτέρου Θόρνακος καλουμένου τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Διὸς ἐς κόκκυγα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆς λεγομένης ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι μετονομασθῆναι τὸ ὄρος
2 φασίν. ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ὀρῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ Διός, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πρωνί ἐστιν Ἥρας· καὶ τοῦ γε Κοκκυγίου πρὸς τοῖς πέρασι ναός ἐστι, θύραι δὲ οὐκ ἐφεστήκασιν οὐδὲ ὄροφον εἶχεν οὐδέ οἱ τι ἐνῆν ἄγαλμα· εἶναι δὲ ἐλέγετο ὁ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁδός ἐστιν ἐπὶ Μάσητα τοῖς ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐκ τῆς εὐθείας. Μάσητι δὲ οὔσῃ πόλει τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καθὰ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἀργείων καταλόγῳ πεποίηκεν, ἐπινείῳ
3 καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐχρῶντο Ἑρμιονεῖς. ἀπὸ Μάσητος δὲ ὁδὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστιν ἐπὶ ἄκραν καλουμένην Στρουθοῦντα. στάδιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ταύτης κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν τὰς κορυφὰς πεντήκοντά εἰσι καὶ διακόσιοι ἐς Φιλανόριόν τε καλούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ Βολεούς· οἱ δὲ Βολεοὶ οὗτοι λίθων εἰσὶ σωροὶ λογάδων. χωρίον δὲ ἕτερον, ὃ Διδύμους ὀνομάζουσι, στάδια εἴκοσιν αὐτόθεν ἀφέστηκεν· ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἔστι δὲ Ποσειδῶνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Δήμητρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ ὀρθὰ λίθου λευκοῦ.

4 Τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθέν ἐστιν Ἀργείων ἥ ποτε Ἀσιναία καλουμένη, καὶ Ἀσίνης ἐστὶν ἐρείπια ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλόντων στρατιᾷ συνεσέβαλόν σφισιν οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι, καὶ ἐδῄωσαν σὺν ἐκείνοις τῶν Ἀργείων τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ ὁ στόλος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε, στρατεύουσιν

and another mountain, called in old days Thornax; but they say that the name was changed because, according to legend, it was here that the transformation of Zeus into a cuckoo took place. Even to the present day there are sanctuaries on the tops of the mountains: on Mount Cuckoo one of Zeus, on Pron one of Hera. At the foot of Mount Cuckoo is a temple, but there are no doors standing, and I found it without a roof or an image inside. The temple was said to be Apollo's. By the side of it runs a road to Mases for those who have turned aside from the straight road. Mases was in old days a city, even as Homer[1] represents it in the catalogue of the Argives, but in my time the Hermionians were using it as a seaport. From Mases there is a road on the right to a headland called Struthus (*Sparrow Peak*). From this headland by way of the summits of the mountains the distance to the place called Philanorium and to the *Boleoi* is two hundred and fifty stades. These *Boleoi* are heaps of unhewn stones. Another place, called Twins, is twenty stades distant from here. There is here a sanctuary of Apollo, a sanctuary of Poseidon, and in addition one of Demeter. The images are of white marble, and are upright.

Next comes a district, belonging to the Argives, that once was called Asinaea, and by the sea are ruins of Asine. When the Lacedaemonians and their king Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Polydectes, son of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon, invaded Argolis with an army, the Asinaeans joined in the invasion, and with them ravaged the land of the Argives. When the Lacedaemonian expedition departed home, the Argives

[1] *Iliad* ii. 562.

ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίνην οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν
5 Ἔρατος. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους
ἠμύναντο οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν ἄλλους
τε καὶ Λυσίστρατον ἐν τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις ὄντα
Ἀργείων· ἁλισκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχους οὗτοι μὲν
γυναῖκας ἐς τὰ πλοῖα ἐνθέμενοι καὶ παῖδας ἐκλεί-
πουσι τὴν αὑτῶν, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐς ἔδαφος κατα-
βαλόντες τὴν Ἀσίνην καὶ τὴν γῆν προσορισάμενοι
τῇ σφετέρᾳ Πυθαέως τε Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπελίποντο
τὸ ἱερὸν — καὶ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι — καὶ τὸν
Λυσίστρατον πρὸς αὐτῷ θάπτουσιν.

6 Ἀπέχει δὲ Ἀργείων τῆς πόλεως τεσσαράκοντα
καὶ οὐ πλείω σταδία ἡ κατὰ Λέρναν θάλασσα.
κατιόντων δὲ ἐς Λέρναν πρῶτον μὲν καθ' ὁδόν
ἐστιν ὁ Ἐρασῖνος, ἐκδίδωσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Φρίξον, ὁ
Φρίξος δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ Τημενίου
καὶ Λέρνης. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρασίνου τραπεῖσιν ἐς
ἀριστερὰ σταδίους ὅσον ὀκτώ, Διοσκούρων ἱερόν
ἐστιν Ἀνάκτων· πεποίηται δέ σφισι κατὰ ταὐτὰ
7 καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ ξόανα. ἀναστρέψας δὲ ἐς
τὴν εὐθεῖαν τόν τε Ἐρασῖνον διαβήσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ
τὸν Χείμαρρον ποταμὸν ἀφίξῃ. πλησίον δὲ
αὐτοῦ περίβολός ἐστι λίθων, καὶ τὸν Πλούτωνα
ἁρπάσαντα ὡς λέγεται Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος
καταβῆναι ταύτῃ φασὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπόγεων νομιζο-
μένην ἀρχήν. ἡ δὲ Λέρνα ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ τὰ
πρότερα ἔχει μοι τοῦ λόγου, πρὸς θαλάσσῃ,
καὶ τελετὴν Λερναίᾳ ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρι.

8 Ἔστι δὲ ἄλσος ἱερὸν ἀρχόμενον μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους
ὃ καλοῦσι Ποντῖνον, τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὁ Ποντῖνος οὐκ
ἐᾷ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρεῖν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐς
αὐτὸ καταδέχεται· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

under their king Eratus attacked Asine. For a time the Asinaeans defended themselves from their wall, and killed among others Lysistratus, one of the most notable men of Argos. But when the wall was lost, the citizens put their wives and children on board their vessels and abandoned their own country; the Argives, while levelling Asine to the ground and annexing its territory to their own, left the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus, which is still visible, and by it they buried Lysistratus.

Distant from Argos forty stades and no more is the sea at Lerna. On the way down to Lerna the first thing on the road is the Erasinus, which empties itself into the Phrixus, and the Phrixus into the sea between Temenium and Lerna. About eight stades to the left from the Erasinus is a sanctuary of the Lords Dioscuri (*Sons of Zeus*). Their wooden images have been made similar to those in the city. On returning to the straight road, you will cross the Erasinus and reach the river Cheimarrus (*Winter-torrent*). Near it is a circuit of stones, and they say that Pluto, after carrying off, according to the story, Core, the daughter of Demeter, descended here to his fabled kingdom underground. Lerna is, I have already stated, by the sea, and here they celebrate mysteries in honour of Lernaean Demeter.

There is a sacred grove beginning on the mountain they call Pontinus. Now Mount Pontinus does not let the rain-water flow away, but absorbs it into itself. From it flows a river, also called

Ποντῖνος. καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἱερόν τε
Ἀθηνᾶς Σαϊτιδος, ἐρείπια ἔτι μόνα, καὶ θεμέ-
λια οἰκίας ἐστὶν Ἱππομέδοντος, ὃς Πολυνείκει
τῷ Οἰδίποδος τιμωρήσων ἦλθεν ἐς Θήβας.
XXXVII. ἀπὸ δὴ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου τὸ ἄλσος
ἀρχόμενον πλατάνων τὸ πολὺ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
καθήκει. ὅροι δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ μὲν ποταμὸς ὁ Ποντῖνος,
τῇ δὲ ἕτερος ποταμός· Ἀμυμώνη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς
Δαναοῦ θυγατρὸς ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ. ἐντὸς δὲ
τοῦ ἄλσους ἀγάλματα ἔστι μὲν Δήμητρος Προσύ-
μνης, ἔστι δὲ Διονύσου, καὶ Δήμητρος καθήμενον
2 ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα· ταῦτα μὲν λίθου πεποιημένα,
ἑτέρωθι δ' ἐν ναῷ Διόνυσος Σαώτης καθήμενον
ξόανον καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ
λίθου· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸ τὰς θυγατέρας λέγουσι
τὰς Δαναοῦ, Δαναὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ Ποντί-
νῳ ποιῆσαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. καταστήσασθαι δὲ
τῶν Λερναίων τὴν τελετὴν Φιλάμμωνά φασι. τὰ
μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις δῆλά ἐστιν
3 οὐκ ὄντα ἀρχαῖα· ἃ δὲ ἤκουσα ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ
γεγράφθαι τῇ πεποιημένῃ τοῦ ὀρειχάλκου, οὐδὲ
ταῦτα ὄντα Φιλάμμωνος Ἀρριφῶν εὗρε, τὸ μὲν
ἀνέκαθεν Τρικωνιεὺς τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ, τὰ δὲ ἐφ'
ἡμῶν Λυκίων τοῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως δόκιμος,
δεινὸς δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἃ μή τις πρότερον εἶδε, καὶ δὴ
καὶ ταῦτα φωράσας ἐπὶ τῷδε. τὰ ἔπη καὶ ὅσα
οὐ μετὰ μέτρου μεμιγμένα ἦν τοῖς ἔπεσι, τὰ
πάντα Δωριστὶ ἐπεποίητο· πρὶν δὲ Ἡρακλείδας
κατελθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἠφίεσαν
Ἀθηναίοις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι φωνήν· ἐπὶ δὲ Φιλάμμωνος
οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Δωριέων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐς ἅπαντας
ἠκούετο Ἕλληνας.

Pontinus. Upon the top of the mountain is a sanctuary of Athena Saïtis, now merely a ruin; there are also the foundations of a house of Hippomedon, who went to Thebes to redress the wrongs of Polyneices, son of Oedipus. XXXVII. At this mountain begins the grove, which consists chiefly of plane trees, and reaches down to the sea. Its boundaries are, on the one side the river Pontinus, on the other side another river, called Amymone, after the daughter of Danaus. Within the grove are images of Demeter Prosymne and of Dionysus. Of Demeter there is a seated image of no great size. Both are of stone, but in another temple is a seated wooden image of Dionysus Saotes (*Saviour*), while by the sea is a stone image of Aphrodite. They say that the daughters of Danaus dedicated it, while Danaus himself made the sanctuary of Athena by the Pontinus. The mysteries of the Lernaeans were established, they say, by Philammon. Now the words which accompany the ritual are evidently of no antiquity; and the inscription also, which I have heard is written on the heart made of orichalcum, was shown not to be Philammon's by Arriphon, an Aetolian of Triconium by descent, who now enjoys a reputation second to none among the Lycians; excellent at original research, he found the clue to this problem in the following way. The verses, and the prose interspersed among the verses, are all written in Doric. But before the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus the Argives spoke the same dialect as the Athenians, and in Philammon's day I do not suppose that even the name Dorians was familiar to all Greek ears.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπέφαινεν οὕτως ἔχοντα, τῆς δὲ
'Αμυμώνης πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ πλάτανος· ὑπὸ
ταύτῃ τὴν ὕδραν τραφῆναι τῇ πλατάνῳ φασίν.
ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ θηρίον πείθομαι τοῦτο καὶ μεγέθει
διενεγκεῖν ὑδρῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὸν ἰὸν οὕτω δή τι
ἔχειν ἀνίατον ὡς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπὸ τῆς χολῆς
αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀκίδας φαρμακεῦσαι τῶν ὀιστῶν·
κεφαλὴν δὲ εἶχεν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν μίαν καὶ οὐ πλεί-
ονας, Πείσανδρος δὲ ὁ Καμιρεύς, ἵνα τὸ θηρίον τε
δοκοίη φοβερώτερον καὶ αὐτῷ γίνηται ἡ ποίησις
ἀξιόχρεως μᾶλλον, ἀντὶ τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς
5 ἐποίησε τῇ ὕδρᾳ τὰς πολλάς. εἶδον δὲ καὶ πηγὴν
'Αμφιαράου καλουμένην καὶ τὴν 'Αλκυονίαν
λίμνην, δι' ἧς φασιν 'Αργεῖοι Διόνυσον ἐς τὸν
Ἄιδην ἐλθεῖν Σεμέλην ἀνάξοντα, τὴν δὲ ταύτῃ
κάθοδον δεῖξαί οἱ Πόλυμνον. τῇ δὲ 'Αλκυονίᾳ
πέρας τοῦ βάθους οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέ τινα οἶδα ἄν-
θρωπον ἐς τὸ τέρμα αὐτῆς οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ καθι-
κέσθαι δυνηθέντα, ὅπου καὶ Νέρων σταδίων
πολλῶν κάλους ποιησάμενος καὶ συνάψας ἀλλή-
λοις, ἀπαρτήσας δὲ καὶ μόλυβδον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ
εἰ δή τι χρήσιμον ἄλλο ἐς τὴν πεῖραν, οὐδὲ οὕτος
6 οὐδένα ἐξευρεῖν ἐδυνήθη ὅρον τοῦ βάθους. καὶ
τόδε ἤκουσα ἄλλο· τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς λίμνης ὡς ἰδόντα
εἰκάσαι γαληνόν ἐστι καὶ ἠρεμαῖον, παρεχόμενον
δὲ ὄψιν τοιαύτην διανήχεσθαι τολμήσαντα πάντα
τινὰ καθέλκειν πέφυκε καὶ ἐς βυθὸν ὑπολαβὸν
ἀπήνεγκε. περίοδος δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐστὶν οὐ
πολλή, ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε σταδίου τρίτον· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς
χείλεσιν αὐτῆς πόα καὶ σχοῖνοι πεφύκασι. τὰ
δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν Διονύσῳ δρώμενα ἐν νυκτὶ κατὰ ἔτος
ἕκαστον οὐχ ὅσιον ἐς ἅπαντας ἦν μοι γράψαι.

All this was proved in the demonstration. At the source of the Amymone grows a plane tree, beneath which, they say, the hydra (water-snake) grew. I am ready to believe that this beast was superior in size to other water-snakes, and that its poison had something in it so deadly that Heracles treated the points of his arrows with its gall. It had, however, in my opinion, one head, and not several. It was Peisander[1] of Camirus who, in order that the beast might appear more frightful and his poetry might be more remarkable, represented the hydra with its many heads. I saw also what is called the Spring of Amphiaraus and the Alcyonian Lake, through which the Argives say Dionysus went down to Hell to bring up Semele, adding that the descent here was shown him by Polymnus. There is no limit to the depth of the Alcyonian Lake, and I know of nobody who by any contrivance has been able to reach the bottom of it; since not even Nero, who had ropes made several stades long and fastened them together, tying lead to them, and omitting nothing that might help his experiment, was able to discover any limit to its depth. This, too, I heard. The water of the lake is, to all appearance, calm and quiet; but, although it is such to look at, every swimmer who ventures to cross it is dragged down, sucked into the depths, and swept away. The circumference of the lake is not great, being about one-third of a stade. Upon its banks grow grass and rushes. The nocturnal rites performed every year in honour of Dionysus I must not divulge to the world at large.

[1] Peisander wrote a poem on the labours of Heracles. His date is uncertain, but perhaps he flourished about 645 B.C.

XXXVIII. Ἐκ Λέρνης δὲ ἰοῦσιν ἐς Τημένιον—τὸ δὲ Τημένιόν ἐστιν Ἀργείων, ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ Τημένου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου· καταλαβὼν γὰρ καὶ ἐχυρωσάμενος τὸ χωρίον ἐπολέμει σὺν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν αὐτόθεν τὸν πρὸς Τισαμενὸν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς πόλεμον—ἐς τοῦτο οὖν τὸ Τημένιον ἰοῦσιν ὅ τε Φρίξος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐν Τημενίῳ πεποίηται καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἕτερον καὶ μνῆμά ἐστι Τημένου τιμὰς
2 ἔχον παρὰ Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Ἄργει. Τημενίου δὲ ἀπέχει Ναυπλία πεντήκοντα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν σταδίους, τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημος, οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῆς Ναύπλιος Ποσειδῶνος λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης εἶναι. λείπεται δὲ καὶ τειχῶν ἔτι ἐρείπια, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ λιμένες εἰσὶν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ καὶ πηγὴ Κάναθος καλουμένη· ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἥραν φασὶν Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ ἔτος λουμένην παρ-
3 θένον γίνεσθαι. οὗτος μὲν δή σφισιν ἐκ τελετῆς, ἣν ἄγουσι τῇ Ἥρᾳ, λόγος τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐστίν· τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ λεγόμενα ἐς τὸν ὄνον, ὡς ἐπιφαγὼν ἀμπέλου κλῆμα ἀφθονώτερον ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνε τὸν καρπόν—καὶ ὄνος σφίσιν ἐν πέτρᾳ πεποιημένος διὰ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἅτε ἀμπέλων διδάξας τομήν—, παρίημι οὐκ ἀξιόλογα ἡγούμενος.

4 Ἔστι δὲ ἐκ Λέρνης καὶ ἑτέρα παρ' αὐτὴν ὁδὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ χωρίον ὃ Γενέσιον ὀνομάζουσι· πρὸς θαλάσσῃ δὲ τοῦ Γενεσίου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα. τούτου δ' ἔχεται χωρίον ἄλλο Ἀπόβαθμοι· γῆς δὲ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον τῆς Ἀργολίδος Δαναὸν σὺν ταῖς παισὶν ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν διελθοῦσιν Ἀνιγραῖα καλούμενα

XXXVIII. Temenium is in Argive territory, and was named after Temenus, the son of Aristomachus. For, having seized and strengthened the position, he waged therefrom with the Dorians the war against Tisamenus and the Achaeans. On the way to Temenium from Lerna the river Phrixus empties itself into the sea, and in Temenium is built a sanctuary of Poseidon, as well as one of Aphrodite; there is also the tomb of Temenus, which is worshipped by the Dorians in Argos. Fifty stades, I conjecture, from Temenium is Nauplia, which at the present day is uninhabited; its founder was Nauplius, reputed to be a son of Poseidon and Amymone. Of the walls, too, ruins still remain; and in Nauplia are a sanctuary of Poseidon, harbours, and a spring called Canathus. Here, say the Argives, Hera bathes every year and recovers her maidenhood. This is one of the sayings told as a holy secret at the mysteries which they celebrate in honour of Hera. The story told by the people in Nauplia about the ass, how by nibbling down the shoots of a vine he caused a more plenteous crop of grapes in the future, and how for this reason they have carved an ass on a rock, because he taught the pruning of vines—all this I pass over as trivial.

From Lerna there is also another road, which skirts the sea and leads to a place called Genesium. By the sea is a small sanctuary of Poseidon Genesius. Next to this is another place, called Apobathmi (*Steps*). The story is that this is the first place in Argolis where Danaus landed with his daughters. From here we pass through what is called Anigraea,

ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν καὶ ἄλλως δύσβατον, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν καθήκουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ
5 δένδρα — ἐλαίας μάλιστα — ἀγαθὴ τρέφειν γῆ, ἰόντι δὲ ἄνω πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπ' αὐτῆς χωρίον ἐστίν, ἔνθα δὴ ἐμαχέσαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ταύτης λογάδες Ἀργείων τριακόσιοι πρὸς ἄνδρας Λακεδαιμονίων ἀριθμόν τε ἴσους καὶ ἐπιλέκτους ὁμοίως. ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἁπάντων πλὴν ἑνὸς Σπαρτιάτου καὶ δυοῖν Ἀργείων, τοῖς μὲν ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐχώσθησαν ἐνταῦθα οἱ τάφοι, τὴν χώραν δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γενομένου πανδημεὶ σφισιν ἀγῶνος πρὸς Ἀργείους κρατήσαντες βεβαίως αὐτοί τε παραυτίκα ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ ὕστερον Αἰγινήταις ἔδοσαν ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῆς νήσου. τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν Θυρεᾶτιν ἐνέμοντο Ἀργεῖοι·
6 φασὶ δὲ ἀνασώσασθαι δίκῃ νικήσαντες. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πολυανδρίων ἰόντι Ἀθήνῃ τέ ἐστιν, ἣν Αἰγινῆται ποτε ᾤκησαν, καὶ ἑτέρα κώμη Νηρίς, τρίτη δὲ Εὖα μεγίστη τῶν κωμῶν· καὶ ἱερὸν τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους ἐστὶν ἐν ταύτῃ. ὁ δὲ Πολεμοκράτης ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος Μαχάονος υἱός, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἀλεξάνορος, καὶ ἰᾶται τοὺς ταύτῃ καὶ τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν
7 προσοίκων ἔχει. ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς κώμας ὄρος Πάρνων, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀργείους ὅροι καὶ Τεγεάτας εἰσίν· ἑστήκασι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις Ἑρμαῖ λίθου, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ποταμὸς δὲ καλούμενος Τάναος — εἰς γὰρ δὴ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ Πάρνωνος κάτεισι — ῥέων διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν Θυρεάτην κόλπον.

along a narrow and difficult road, until we reach a tract on the left which stretches down to the sea; it is fertile in trees, especially the olive. As you go up inland from this is a place where three hundred picked Argives fought for this land with 548 B.C.
an equal number of specially chosen Lacedaemonian warriors. All were killed except one Spartan and two Argives, and here were raised the graves for the dead. But the Lacedaemonians, having fought against the Argives with all their forces, won a decisive victory; at first they themselves enjoyed the fruits of the land, but afterwards they assigned it to the Aeginetans, when they were expelled from 431 B.C.
their island by the Athenians. In my time Thyreatis was inhabited by the Argives, who say that they recovered it by the award of an arbitration. As you 338 B.C.
go from these common graves you come to Athene, where Aeginetans once made their home, another village Neris, and a third Eua, the largest of the villages, in which there is a sanctuary of Polemocrates. This Polemocrates is one of the sons of Machaon, and the brother of Alexanor; he cures the people of the district, and receives honours from the neighbours. Above the villages extends Mount Parnon, on which the Lacedaemonian border meets the borders of the Argives and Tegeatae. On the borders stand stone figures of Hermes, from which the name of the place is derived. A river called Tanaus, which is the only one descending from Mount Parnon, flows through the Argive territory and empties itself into the Gulf of Thyrea.

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